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#### IV.—On English Vowel Quantity in the Thirteenth Century and in the Nineteenth.

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It is a well-known fact that the Modern Greek has lost the system of vowel quantity which belonged to the ancient language: *κόμη hair* and *κώμη village* are pronounced alike by the Modern Greek; nor is it otherwise with *λύσεις thou wilt loose* and *λύσις a loosening*. In like manner the Romanic languages have lost the system of vowel quantity which belonged to the ancient Latin. Thus the Italian and Spanish *mano, rosa*, French *main, rose* are alike in vowel sound with Italian and Spanish *vano, prosa*, French *vain, prose*, though the former come from Latin *mānus, rōsa*, and the latter from *vānus, prōsa*. It is an interesting question whether our own language has had in this respect the same experience as the Modern Greek and the Romanic tongues; whether we have wholly lost those distinctions of vowel quantity which undoubtedly belonged to the Anglo-Saxon.

It is sometimes said that we have no proper distinction of long and short quantity in English: all our vowels are alike in quantity; they are all equally susceptible of prolongation and abridgment; or rather, any vowel may be so prolonged as to exceed the ordinary quantity of any other: thus *fill* may be so prolonged in utterance as to take more time than is ordinarily given to *feel* or *file*. But this must have been the case also with Greek and Latin vowels: their absolute time was not fixed, but variable. One speaker must have talked faster or slower than another; the same speaker must have talked faster or slower at one time than at another; even on the same occasion one sentence or clause must have been uttered faster or slower than another; and thus it could hardly fail to happen that a short vowel would sometimes have a longer sound than the ordinary or average quantity of a long vowel. But the average quantity of a short vowel was less than the average for a long one; or, with the same general

rapidity of utterance, the quantity of long vowels exceeded the quantity of short. I say simply, the quantity of long vowels *exceeded*, was *greater* than, the quantity of short; not that the former was just *double* the latter. It may be presumed that in ordinary spoken utterance there was not any so exact relation; with the same *tempo*, the long might equal  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the short, or  $1\frac{2}{3}$  of the short, or  $1\frac{3}{4}$  of the short, as well as just 2; and probably the average actual ratio was rather less than 2 to 1; the average long would occupy rather less than twice the time of the average short. The fixing of 2 to 1 as the precise numerical relation was probably the work of rhythmopœia, or of rhythmopœia and melopœia together. When longs and shorts were combined in rhythmic composition, and especially when a musical accompaniment was added, the longs and shorts must have a definite and fixed ratio to each other; and the ratio of two to one was the most simple, obvious and convenient.

Now as regards our English syllables, it is certain that we have nearly or quite lost the feeling of length by position. By this I mean that we do not recognize a short vowel followed by two consonants as having any distinct relation to a long vowel followed by one consonant. We can perceive, of course, that there is more sound in *fist* than in *fit*, and more sound in *fight* than in *fit*; but we do not recognize any special relation of quantity between *fist* and *fight*. But in reference to vowel sounds, it should seem that our case is not essentially different from that of the ancient Greeks and Romans. There are certain sounds which, with the same *tempo*, the same general rapidity of utterance, we recognize as occupying more time than others; we thus recognize the former as long, the latter as short. It is true, the English short vowels differ somewhat in quality of sound,—that is, in position of the speech organs;—from the long vowels which most nearly resemble them, the short being a little more open than the corresponding long: there is a more open sound in *fill* than in *feel*, in *full* than in *fool*, in *fell* than in *fail*, etc. But this does not affect the relation of quantity. It is clear that we have long vowel sounds in *file* and *foul*, in *feel* and *fool*, in *fail* and

*foal*, and in *fall*; and that we have short vowel sounds in *fill* and *full*, in *fell*, in *doll*, in *dally*, in *dull*. Pronounce the two series in succession; on the one hand, *file*, *foul*, *feel*, *fool*, *fail*, *foal*, *fall*; on the other, *fill*, *full*, *fell*, *doll*, *dally*, *dull*:—the difference of quantity is manifest and unmistakable.

If then we have long and short vowels clearly distinguished from each other, it becomes a matter of interest to inquire whether the distinction is recent or ancient; whether, and how far, the vowels now sounded long or sounded short were sounded long or short respectively in early periods of the language. The question here raised is not whether our vowels have kept the same sounds, but whether they have kept the same quantities. It matters not that long *a* has passed from its original sound (of *ah*) to that heard in *fame*; long *e*, from the sound in *prey* to that in *key*; long *i*, from the sound in *pique* to that in *pike*; long *o*, from the sound in *bone* to that in *boon*; long *u*, from the sound in *prude* to that in *proud*. These changes have taken place to a very great extent, but they do not affect the question now before us: the old long vowel remains long still. So if the short vowels *ĩ*, *ũ*, *ẽ*, (in *fill*, *full*, *fell*,) have become a little more open; if on the other hand *ă* has generally become closer (as in *dally*), approaching the sound of *ẽ* (in *dell*); if the old *ō* has disappeared altogether, passing into a sound more open than that of *a* in *fall*, and often described as its corresponding short (thus *făll*, *fōlly*); if *ū*, and sometimes other short vowels, have sunk into the obscure and undistinguished sound heard in *dull*, *done*;—these changes do not concern us here, as the old short vowel still remains short.

In the inquiry whether, and how far, we can trace back the present long and short quantities of English vowels, we find our best guide and help in a single (and singular) production of early English literature. I refer to the *Ormulum*, so called from the name of its author, the monk Orm, or Ormin. who wrote in the eastern part of England, some time in the thirteenth century, or fully six hundred years ago. A series of metrical homilies on the successive daily lessons of the church service, its interest is philological much more than literary.

In the only manuscript from which it is known to us,—not improbably the only manuscript of it that was ever written,—we find on the part of the writer a careful and systematic regard to vowel quantity. He has a spelling of his own, to which he adheres with much consistency ; and in this spelling the most peculiar and conspicuous feature is the doubling of every consonant which follows a short vowel. There was a tendency to this in the general English orthography even at that early period ; what is remarkable in this author is that he consciously carried out this tendency as a uniform and universal rule. Thus he writes *it* with a double *t*, *if* with a double *f*, *hundred* with a double *n* and a double *d*, *lasteth* with a double *s* and a double sign for *th*. So much is he attached to this spelling, in spite of its strange and whimsical appearance, that in a preliminary address (seemingly very little needed) to the future copyist, he insists upon a careful conformity to it :

*Annd tatt he loke wel tatt he  
 An bocstaff write twi33ess,  
 E33whær thær itt uppo thiss boc  
 Iss wrītenn o thatt wise.  
 Loke he well thatt het write swa,  
 Forr he ne ma33 nohht elless  
 Onn Ennglissh writenn rihht te word  
 Thatt wite he wel to sothe.*

Which may be modernized thus, in the same measure, all but the unaccented ending of the even lines :

And that he look [full] well that he  
 A letter write twice [over],  
 Wherever it upon this book  
 Is written on that wise.  
 Look he well that he write it so  
 For he (ne) may not else  
 In English write aright the word,  
 That wit he well to sooth.

Thus then the spelling of the Ormulum enables us to say, in the case of every vowel followed by a consonant in the same word, whether the author pronounced it—or, at least supposed that he pronounced it—long or short. In order now to arrive at some general conclusions as to the persistence of vowel quantity in English, I have looked through the

vocabulary of the Ormulum, as presented with much fulness and clearness in the second volume of White's edition (Oxford, 1852), and have noted the words which survive in the English of to-day, including some few which, though lost out of the common language, are still generally known from their use in literary works of the modern period. I propose to state the general results of this comparison between the quantities of words as indicated in the Ormulum, and the quantities of the same words as heard in modern English. It should be said that the vocabulary of the Ormulum is not large. The work is nearly as long as the *Odyssey*; but the number of different words used in it is much smaller than in the Greek poem. There is a great sameness—a wearisome sameness—in the contents of the book: the leading facts, principles, and precepts of the Christian system are repeated over and over again with little variety of expression. Still there are words enough to give a fair idea of the relation between the vowel quantities of Saxon English six hundred years ago and those of Saxon English at the present time. I say "*Saxon English*," because few Latin words (aside from those already taken into the Anglo-Saxon), and fewer French words, are to be found in the Ormulum. Its language is as purely Teutonic as the modern German.

The most general statement suggested by the extended comparison of which I have been speaking is this: that in the great majority of cases the vowels which had a long sound six hundred years ago are long now; those which had a short sound then are short now. And if the exceptions are pretty numerous,—if in a good many cases the long sound of the Ormulum corresponds to a modern short, or the short sound of the Ormulum to a modern long,—most of these exceptional cases depend on a few obvious conditions, on clearly marked euphonic influences and tendencies, so that cases of capricious variation, of variation without apparent principle, are comparatively few. It will probably be most instructive, if we consider first (and indeed chiefly) these euphonic conditions and tendencies which have led to differences of quantity between the language of six hundred years ago and that of to-day.

In the first place, then, let us look at the cases where the loss of a consonant sound has occasioned the lengthening of a short vowel before it; as in *alms*, O. *allmess*, *buy*, O. *biggenn*, and the like. Such changes can hardly be considered as violations of the old system of quantities. If there is here an alteration, an increase, of vowel quantity, it only takes the place of a consonant quantity withdrawn. It is simply that the time before occupied by a vowel and consonant is now occupied by the vowel prolonged. This is sometimes described as an absorption of the consonant by the vowel, sometimes as a vocalization of the consonant. Neither of these expressions gives a distinct idea of the nature of the change. Of course, in every instance of the kind there must have been a time of transition, when the consonant was beginning to be omitted, when the very speakers who omitted it were perfectly aware of its existence, and perhaps generally pronounced it, but occasionally let it drop with a lengthening of the preceding vowel. Now this consciousness of a consonant with a claim to be pronounced is an important element in the phenomenon. The speaker who does not really pronounce it, does not feel that he can omit it altogether; he does not feel that he is altogether omitting it. To his own feeling he gives it a kind of recognition. He perhaps brings the organs of speech into some sort of approach toward the position required for pronouncing the consonant, so that the preceding vowel passes into a sound more or less modified, which does duty for the consonant. If this modification continues to be made, then the resulting long vowel-sound will not be a mere simple prolongation of the preceding short, but something different, perhaps a diphthong. Yet it may very well happen that in this *quasi*-pronunciation of the consonant, the approach made by the organs to the position for that consonant will grow more and more slight, and the sound produced will differ less and less from a mere continuation of the preceding vowel; until finally — and perhaps very soon — it comes to be just that and nothing else, and the consonant is replaced, as its claim for utterance is felt to be satisfied, by a simple addition of quantity to the preceding vowel. But whatever may be thought

as to the rationale of the process, it is one of which we find numerous instances in comparing the Semi-Saxon of the Ormulum with modern English. Thus where *l*, followed by another consonant, has been suppressed in utterance, though still retained in writing, the short vowel before it has become long in

O. *allmess* (alms), A. S. *ālmesse*, Lat. *eleemosyna*.

*callf* (calf), A. S. *cealf*.

*folc* (folk, people), A. S. *folc*.

*hallf* (half, behalf), A. S. *healf*.

*ille* (each, every, Sc. *ilk*), A. S. *ālc*, *elc*, *ylc*.

*sallfe* (salve, ointment), A. S. *sealf*.

*sallme* (psalm), A. S. *sealm*, Lat. *psalmus*.

In *should* (O. *sholldē*), *would* (O. *wolldē* and *wolde*), we have a short vowel sound; but we may see from the *ou* that the vowel was first lengthened (*shou'd*, *wou'd*, with *ou* as in *youth*); though afterward it became short again, by a new and independent change, similar to that by which *good* and *stood* have received their present short pronunciation. The same change has occurred also in *could*, which never had an *l* actually sounded. The Ormulum, like the Anglo-Saxon, has *cūthe*, in which the *th* became *d*, and the vowel was afterward shortened. As people were accustomed to write a silent *l* in *should*, *would*, and regarded *could* as a word of similar character, they put a silent *l* into that also. There would have been more propriety in the insertion of a silent *n*; for this letter belongs to the root as seen in *can*. It is a feature of the Anglo-Saxon in its earliest known form that it drops *n* before *th* or *s*, and lengthens the preceding vowel: as *gô's* (goose) for *gans*, *sôdh* (sooth) for *santh* (which means *being*, *existing*, and is identical with Lat. *-sens*, in *praesens*, *-sentis*); and so *cūdhe* for *cunthe* (*could*.)

Again, where *g* has been suppressed in utterance, the short vowel before it has become long in

O. *biggenn* (to buy), *abiggenn* (to *aby*, pay for), A. S. *bycgan*, *ā'ycgan*.

*leggenn* (to lay), A. S. *lecgan*.

*seggenn* (to say), A. S. *secgan*.

But in most cases of this kind the *g* appears in the Ormulum



softened into the consonant *y*-sonnd (3), which after the short vowel is written double (33) : thus

O. *da33* (*day*), pl. *da33hess*, *da33ess*, A. S. *däy*, pl. *dagas*.

*dri33e* (*dry*), A. S. *dryge*.

*e33lenn* (*to ail*), A. S. *eglan*.

*e33therr* (*either*), A. S. *ægdher*.

*fu33err* (*fair*), A. S. *fäger*.

*fle33l* (*flail*), Germ. *flegel*, Lat. *flagellum*.

*ge33nenn* (*to gain*), *ga33henn* (*gain*), O. N. *gagn* (*advantage*).

*ge33nlike* (*aptly*, cf. *ungainly*), O. N. *gegn* (*apt, clever*), A. S. *ungägne* (*of no effect*).

*la33* (*lay*), from *lin* (*to lie*), A. S. *lög*, from *licgan*.

*le33* (*impv. lay*), *le33de* (*laid*), from *leggenn*, A. S. *lege*, *lögde*, from *leegan*.

*ma33* (*he may*), A. S. *mäg*.

*ma33* (*may, maid*), A. S. *mæg* (*femina, virgo*).

*ma33denn* (*maiden*), A. S. *mägdēn*.

*na33lenn* (*to nail*), A. S. *näglian*.

*re33n* (*rain*), A. S. *regn*.

*se33* (*impo. say*), *se33th* (*saith*), *se33de* (*said*), from *seggenn*, A. S. *sege*, *segdh*, *sägde*, from *secgan*.

*inn-se33less* (*seals*), A. S. *sigel*, *insegel*.

*twe33enn* (*twain*), A. S. *twegen*.

*twi33ess* (*twice*), also *twi3ess*, A. S. *twiga* (1 ?).

*thri33ess* (*thrice*), also *thri3ess*, A. S. *thriga* (1 ?).

*wa33n* (*waggon, wain*), A. S. *wägn*, *wæn*.

*we33e* (*way*), *awe33*, *awe33e* (*away*), A. S. *weg*, *âweg*.

In *e33therr*, *ma33* (*maid*), and perhaps in *twi33ess* and *thri33ess*, a long vowel of the Anglo-Saxon is found shortened (in the last two, however, not uniformly) in the Ormulum. This shortening may perhaps be explained as the consequence of an effort to make the feeble 3 more fully audible. The vowel may have been passed over lightly in order that a greater force of utterance might be brought to bear on the weak consonant following it, so as give this a distinct enunciation. It would be perfectly natural, too, that the speakers of the language should become at length weary of this effort required for the weak consonant; and that they should then allow the consonant to be replaced by a mere continuance of the preceding vowel, which would thus recover its primitive long quantity.

In the word *master* (O. *ma33stre*, A. S. *mägestre*, *mägstre*, Lat. *magister*) we do not lengthen the vowel: here the Scottish *maister* shows the truer (that is, the more analogical) pro-

nunciation. In *saið* and *said*, the lengthened vowel sound which once belonged to them is still indicated by the *ai* with which they are written.

The *33* of the Ormulum is not always to be traced to an original *g*. In some instances it seems to have arisen from the diphthong *ei* in the Old Norse, the language of the so-called Danes who came as invaders and settlers into eastern England: the vocabulary of the Ormulum shows evident marks of a Norse influence. Thus the plural pronouns *the33* (*they*), *the33re* (*their*), *the33m* (*them*) are not to be explained from A. S. *thá*, *thára*, *thám*, but from O. N. *their*, *theirra*, *theim*; — *re33senn* (to *raise*), not from A. S. *rásian*, but from O. N. *reisa*; — *he33lenn* (to *hail*, salute), not from A. S. *hál*, but from the corresponding O. N. *heill* (sanus, salvus), which, like E. *hail*, was often used in salutations. So *a33* (*aye*, always, ever) is perhaps to be explained from O. N. *æi*, *ei*, *ey*, which correspond to A. S. *áwa*; while *na33* (*nay*) may be a mere compound of *ne* and *a33*. The genitive *Ke33seress*, usually *Kaseress*, from *Kasere* (*Cæsar*, Emperor), might be accounted for in the same way; but for the *33* in *be33sannz* (*bezants*, coined in *Byzantium*), and in the proper name *E33noc* (*Enoch*), we have no explanation to offer.

Yet again, where a consonant *h* has been suppressed in utterance, the short vowel before it has become long in many words. I say “a consonant *h*,” for the Anglo-Saxon *h*, where it stands at the end of a syllable or is followed by *t* or *th* (*dh*), must be regarded as a true consonant. Thus in

- O. *bohhte* (bought), from *biggenn* (to buy), A. S. *bohte*, from *bycgan*.  
*brihht* (bright), A. S. *beorht*, *byrht*, *bryht*.  
*brohhte* (brought), from *bringenn* (to bring), A. S. *brohte*, from *bringan*.  
*cnihhtess* (servants, soldiers, cf. knight), A. S. *cniht*.  
*dohhterr* (daughter), A. S. *dóhtor*.  
*drohh* (drew), also *droh*, from *drayhenn* (to draw), A. S. *dróg*, from *dragan*.  
*druhhthe* (drought), A. S. *drugadh*.  
*duhhti3* (virtuous, cf. doughty), A. S. *dyhtig*.  
*ehhte* (eight), *ehhtennde* (eighth), A. S. *eahta*, *eahtodha*, O. N. *áttundi*.  
*feh*, *fe*, (revenue, money, cf. fee,) A. S. *feoh*, *feo*.  
*fihtenn* (to fight), A. S. *feohtan*.  
*flihkt* (flight), A. S. *flyht*.  
*bi-kahht* (caught), also *bikechedd* (caught); of doubtful origin.  
*lihht* (light, levis), A. S. *leoht* (*líht*).

- O. *lihht* (light, lux), A. S. *leóht* (light).  
*mahht*, *mihht* (might), *mihhte* (he might), A. S. *meaht*, *miht*, *mihte*.  
*nahht*, *nihht* (night), A. S. *neaht*, *niht*.  
*nohht* (nought, not), A. S. *náht*, *náwiht*, from *ne* and *áwiht*.  
*ohht* (ought), A. S. *áht*, contracted from *áwiht*.  
*plihht* (danger, state, cf. plight), A. S. *pliht*.  
*rihht* (right), A. S. *riht*.  
*sahh* (saw), from *seon*, *sen* (to see), A. S. *seah*, from *seón*; but see p. 93.  
*sihhte* (sight, appearance), *innsihht* (insight, knowledge), A. S. *gesihdh*.  
*sohhte* (sought), from *sekenn* (to seek), A. S. *sóhte*, from *sécan*.  
*tahhte* (taught), from *tæchenn* (to teach), A. S. *tæhte*, from *tæcan*.  
*thohh* (though), A. S. *thedh*.  
*thohhte* (he thought), from *thennkenn* (to think), A. S. *thokte*, from *thencan*.  
*thuhhte* (seemed, cf. methought), from *thinnkenn* (to seem), A. S. *thuhte*, from *thyncan*.  
*wehhte* (weight), A. S. *wiht*, *gewiht*, from *wegan* (to weigh).  
*wihht* (being, person, cf. wight), A. S. *wilt*.  
*wrihhte* (maker, worker, cf. wright), A. S. *wyrhta*.  
*wrohhte* (wrought), from *wirrkenn* (to work), A. S. *worhte*, *wrohte*, from *wyrcan*.

In some of these words (*dohhterr*, *drohh*, *lihht*, *lihtt*, *nohht*, *ohht*, *sohhte*, *tahhte*, *thohh*), we find a shortening of the Anglo-Saxon long vowel, similar to that just noticed in *ezzherr*, *mazz*, etc., and explainable in the manner then proposed; though the combination of consonants (*ht*), which in most of them follows the vowel, may have had something to do with its change of quantity.

Lastly, in a number of words which in the Ormulum have the consonant *w* repeated, showing that the vowel before it was then sounded short, this consonant is lost in English (or, at least, has no consonant power), and the vowel sound is long. Such are

- O. *chewwenn* (to chew), A. S. *ceówan*.  
*clawwess* (hoofs, cf. claw), A. S. *clá*, *clawu*, pl. *clawe*.  
*cnewwe* (knee), pl. *cnewwess*, *cnes*, A. S. *cneow*, *cneó*.  
*dæwwenn* (to bedew), from *dæw* (dew), A. S. *deáwian*, from *deáw*.  
*fowwerr*, *fowwre* (four), *fowwertiz* (forty), A. S. *féówer*, *féówertig*.  
*strawwenn* (to strow, straw), A. S. *streówian*, *streáwian*.  
*throwwinnge* (throe, suffering), A. S. *thrówing*.  
*trewwess* (trees), also *treos*, *tres*, sing. *tree*, A. S. *treow*, *t ó*.  
*trowwe* (true), *trowwenn* (to trow), *trowwthe* (truth), A. S. *tréóve*, *tréóvian*, *tréowdh*.

In most of these words we see an Anglo-Saxon long vowel shortened before the weak *w*, as we have already seen it before *h* and *z*. In *nowwharr* (*nowhere*), the shortening — which may

be compared to that of *no* in English *nothing* — really takes place before *h*, the true order of the sounds being that represented in the Anglo-Saxon orthography, *nāhwær*. The words *owwutherr*, *nowwutherr*, (A. S. *āwdher*, *nāwdher*,) have the sense of *either*, *neither*; but these last connect themselves with A. S. *ægdher*. The form *nowwt* (cattle, Sc. *nowt*) is to be explained from O. N. *naut*, while English *neat* corresponds to A. S. *neát*. In these words, where the *ww* precedes a consonant, its sound can hardly have differed very much from that of the vowel *u*. Indeed the Latin *au* is represented by *aww* in *clawwstremann* (*cloister-man*, monk) from Lat. *claustrum*, and in the proper name *Sannt Awwstin* (*Saint Austin*, *Augustine*), though the Emperor (*Kaserr-king*) Augustus appears as *Augusstuss*.

We have now reviewed all the cases where a consonant, which in the time of the Ormulum was heard after a short vowel, is lost in modern English; and we have seen that in all but a very few (*should*, *would*, *saith*, *said*, *master*, *them*, *not*), the preceding vowel is long in our present pronunciation: even for these few, there is evidence that the most have been pronounced with long vowel sound, though that in more recent times has become short.

The next important point we have to consider is the effect of a weak *r* on the preceding short vowel. By weak *r* I mean to designate that peculiar sound of the letter which it has assumed in our present English, wherever it stands before a consonant or at the end of a word, as in *far*, *farm*, *for*, *form*, *fur*, *firm*. This is evidently weaker than the sound of *r* in *farrow*, *forest*, *borough*, *merit*, *spirit*, etc. According to Mr. Ellis, Ben Jonson, in his English Grammar of 1640, is the earliest writer who gives any sign of having recognized this distinction between a stronger and weaker *r* in the pronunciation of our language. Perhaps the phenomenon itself, the weakening of *r* where it is final or followed by a consonant, may not be much older than that time. In the dialectic pronunciation of the Irish, which has in many points preserved the older English sounds, it has not yet established itself. This weak *r* is most easily produced after the neutral vowel,

so called, which is heard as short in *cub*, *cud*, and as long in *curb*, *curd*. Except after the sounds of *ah* and *au* (as in *far*, *for*), this *u* sound is always heard before a weak *r*: thus it comes in, as a brief yet perceptible element, after the proper vowel in *fire*, *flour*, *fear*, *four*, *fare*. When the preceding vowel was a short *i* or *e*, this has been overpowered by and merged in the following *u* sound. Thus *fir* and *her* are not distinguished in pronunciation from *fur* and *Hur*. The short *u* itself becomes long when this consonant follows it; as we see in comparing *burgh* with *burrow*, where the first has a long sound before weak *r*, the second a short one before common *r*. The point with which we are now concerned is this, that the weak *r*, whether heard at the end of a word or before another consonant, is always preceded by a long vowel sound; if the preceding vowel sound was originally short, it has become long.

It is altogether improbable that in the time of the Ormulum *r* in this position had begun to assume its present weak sound; but it had begun to affect the quantity of a preceding vowel. We find quite a number of words in which a short vowel of the Anglo-Saxon, standing before *r* in this position, had become long in the Ormulum, as in recent English.

- O. *ærd* (place, region, Sc. *airt*), A. S. *eard*.  
*ærn* (*earn*, eagle), A. S. *earn*.  
*bærn* (children, Sc. *bairns*), also *barness*, A. S. *bearn*.  
*bærnenn* (to burn), A. S. *beornan*.  
*birde* (lineage, cf. *birth*), A. S. *gebyrd* (*birth*, lineage).  
*bord* (*board*, table), A. S. *bord*.  
*cherl* (young man, cf. *churl*), A. S. *ceorl*.  
*corn* (*corn*), A. S. *corn*.  
*eorless* (*earls*), A. S. *eorl*.  
*eorthe*, *erthe* (*earth*), A. S. *eordhe*.  
*forth* (*forth*), also *forrth*, A. S. *fördh*.  
*kirkke-gærd* (*church-yard*), A. S. *geard*.  
*hird* (company, family, cf. *herd*), A. S. *heord*.  
*hirde* (*herd*, shepherd), A. S. *hirde*.  
*hord* (*hoard*), A. S. *hord*.  
*leornenn*, *lernenn* (to learn), but *lerrnde* (*learned*), A. S. *leornian*.  
*skarn* (*scorn*), O. Fr. *escorne*.  
*stirne* (*stern*, fierce), A. S. *styrne*.  
*sword* (*sword*), A. S. *sweord*.  
*word* (*word*), A. S. *word*.

## *On English Vowel Quantity.*

O. *ȝeornenn*, *ȝernenn* (to yearn), but *ȝerrnde* (yearned), A. S. *geornian*, from *georn* (desirous, O. *ȝeorne*, *ȝerne*).

It is not unlikely that some of these words, though lengthened in the Ormulum, may have retained their primitive short quantity in the prevailing English, until by the weakening of the *r* at a much later time they became long. It is certain that in most cases where an original short vowel has been lengthened before *r*, the change is not so old as the Ormulum. Thus in almost every instance where we have the sound of *ah* or *au* before a weak *r*, the word, if found in the Ormulum, shows a short vowel. Here belong

- O. *arrt* (art), *arnn* (they are), A. S. *eart*, O. N. *eru* (sunt).  
*arctoss* (north, cf. *arctic*), Gr. and Lat. *arctos* (bear, north).  
*arrke* (ark), A. S. *earc*, Lat. *arca*.  
*armess* (arms, brachia), A. S. *earn*.  
*barrliz* (barley), A. S. *bere* (Sc. bear).  
*berrme* (barn, leaven), A. S. *beorma*.  
*berrne* (barn), A. S. *bere-ärn*, *berern*, *bern*.  
*feorr*, *ferr* (far), A. S. *feor*.  
*forr* (for, prep. and conj.), A. S. *for*.  
*forrne* (former), A. S. *forma*.  
*harrd* (hard), A. S. *heard*.  
*heorte*, *herrte* (heart), A. S. *heorte*.  
*herrberrzhe* (lodging, cf. harbor), A. S. *hereberga*.  
*herrcennn* (to hearken), A. S. *hyrcnian*.  
*herrfesstid* (harvest-time), A. S. *hårfest*.  
*horrs* (horse), A. S. *hors*.  
*karrte* (cart, chariot), A. S. *crät*.  
*marrch* (month of March), Lat. and A. S. *Martius*.  
*marttirrdom* (martyrdom), A. S. *martyrdóm*, Lat. *martyr*.  
*merrke* (mark), A. S. *mearc*.  
*norrth* (north), A. S. *nordh*.  
*orr* (or), from *oththr*, *otherr*, A. S. *óðher*.  
*patriarrke* (patriarch), Lat. *patriarcha*.  
*scorcnedd* (scorched), O. Fr. *escorcher* (to excoriate).  
*sharrp* (sharp), A. S. *scearp*.  
*shorrt* (short), A. S. *sceort*.  
*sperrd* (closed, barred, cf. *spar*), *unnsperrenn* (to unclosed), A. S. *sparrian*.  
*starre* (firm, cf. *stark*), A. S. *stearc*.  
*steorne*, *sterrne* (star), A. S. *steorra*, O. N. *stiarna*.  
*thornness* (thorns), A. S. *thorn*.  
*thweorrt*, *thwertt* (with ut; throughout, cf. *thwart*), A. S. *thweorh*.  
*warrm* (warm), A. S. *wearm*.  
*werre* (worse, Sc. *waur*), A. S. *weor* (evil).  
*werrpenn* (to cast, cf. to warp), A. S. *weorpan*.  
*wharrfenn* (to turn, cf. wharf), A. S. *hweorfan*.  
*ȝerrde* (rod, cf. yard), A. S. *geard* (virga).

Somewhat less numerous are the cases in which the short vowel of the Ormulum corresponds to any other vowel sound than those of *ah* and *au* (*far* and *for*) in modern English.

- O. *barness* (children, Sc. *bairns*), also *bærn*, A. S. *bearn*.  
*to-bresstenn* (to *burst*, Sc. *brust*), A. S. *berstan*.  
*cursenn* (to *curse*), A. S. *cursian*.  
*darr* (*dare*), *durrste* (*durst*), A. S. *dear*, *dorste*.  
*ferrs* (*verse*), A. S. *fers*, Lat. *versus*.  
*firrst* (*first*), A. S. *fýrst*.  
*firthrenn* (to *assist*, cf. to *further*), A. S. *fyrðherian*.  
*forrtherr* (*further*), A. S. *furdhor*.  
*girdell* (*girdle*), A. S. *gyrdel*.  
*hirrtenn* (to *hurt*), Dutch and M. H. Germ. *hurten* (to *dash against*).  
*irre* (*ire*), A. S. *yrre*.  
*kirrke* (*church*), A. S. *cyrice*, Gr. *κνριακή*.  
*kirrtell* (*kirtle*), A. S. *cyrtel*.  
*mirrthrenn* (to *murder*), A. S. *myrðhrian*.  
*myrrha*, *myrra*, *myrr* (*myrrh*), Lat. *myrrha*.  
*serrfenn* (to *serve*), O. Fr. *servir*, Lat. *servire*.  
*skerrenn* (to *scare*), O. N. *skirra* (to *drive away*).  
*thirst* (*thirst*), A. S. *thurst*.  
*thridde* (*third*), *thrittiȝ* (*thirty*), A. S. *thridda*, *thrittig* or *thrítig*.  
*turnenn* (to *turn*), A. S. *tyrnan*.  
*turtle* (*turtle-dove*), A. S. *turtle*, Lat. *turtur*.  
*warr* (*aware*), A. S. *wär*.  
*weorrc*, *werrc* (*work*), *wirrkenn* (to *work*), A. S. *weorc*, *wyrcan*.  
*werrse* (*worse*), *werrst* (*worst*), *wirrsenn* (*worsening*), A. S. *wyrsa*, *wyrst*, *wyr-sian*.  
*wurrm* (*worm*), A. S. *wyrm*, *weorm*.  
*wurrrh* (*worth*, adj.), *wurrrhshipe*, *wurrrshipe* (*worship*), A. S. *weordh*, *weordhscipe*.  
*wurrrthenn* (to *become*, be, cf. *woe worth the day*), A. S. *weordhan*.

But *r* is not the only consonant which has had this effect of lengthening the vowel before it. We find it produced also by *l*, a liquid and a lingual like the *r*. Before *l* at the end of a word or followed by another consonant, a vowel originally short has often become long. Cases of this kind, in which the Ormulum still retains the short vowel, are the following :

- O. *all* (*all*), *allswa*, *allse* (*also*), *allmasst* (*almost*), A. S. *eal*, *ealswá*, *ealmæst*.  
*allderrmann* (*chief*, ruler, cf. *alderman*), A. S. *ealdorman*.  
*allterr* (*altar*), Lat. *altare*.  
*bulletedd* (*bræd*, bread from *bolted flour*), O. Fr. *bulter*, *bluter*, M. H. Germ. *biuteln*.  
*fallenn* (to *fall*, *fallen*), A. S. *feallan*, *fíallen*.  
*fallse* (*false*), A. S. *fals*, Lat. *falsus*.  
*galle* (*gall*), A. S. *gealla*.

- O. *halp* (*help*), *holppenn* (*holpen*), from *hēlpenn*, A. S. *healp*, *holpen*, from *helpan*.  
*hallte* (*halt*, *lame*), A. S. *healt*.  
*pall* (*cloth*, cf. *pall*), A. S. *páll*, *pell*, Lat. *pallium*.  
*sallt* (*salt*), A. S. *sealt*.  
*shuldre* (*shoulders*), A. S. *sculdre*, pl. of *sculdor*.  
*stall* (*stall*), A. S. *steal*.  
*walless* (*walls*), *grundwall* (*ground-wall*, *foundation*), A. S. *weal*.

This lengthening of a vowel before *l* had already commenced in the time of the Ormulum; and indeed in most of the instances found in the Ormulum, where a vowel originally short is followed by the combination *ld*, the vowel appears as long in the Ormulum itself. Thus in

- O. *ald* (*old*), but *elldre* (*elder*, *older*) and *allderrmann*, A. S. *eald*, *yldre*.  
*bald* (*bold*), *beoldenn*, *beldenn* (*to embolden*), A. S. *beald*, *bealdian*, *byldan*.  
*child* (*child*), but *chilldre* (*children*), A. S. *cild*, *cildru*.  
*faldess* (*sheep-folds*), A. S. *gefeald*.  
*feld* (*field*), A. S. *feld*.  
*gold* (*gold*), *gildene* (*golden*), A. S. *gold*, *gylden*.  
*haldenn* (*to hold*, *holden*), A. S. *healdan*, *healden*.  
*kald* (*cold*), A. S. *ceald*.  
*milde* (*mild*), but *milce* (*mildness*, *mercy*), A. S. *milde*, *milds* or *milts*.  
*saldenn* (*they sold*), from *sellenn* (*to sell*), A. S. *sealdon*, from *sellan*.  
*shildenn* (*to shield*), A. S. *scildan*.  
*talde* (*he told*), from *tellenn* (*to tell*), A. S. *tealde*, from *tellan*.  
*weldenn* (*to govern*, cf. *to wield*), A. S. *wealdan*.  
*wilde* (*wild*), A. S. *wild*.  
*zeldenn* (*to yield*), A. S. *gielgan*, *gyldan*.

Indeed, the Ormulum sometimes lengthens a short vowel before *l*, where the modern English has it short. Thus in *wel*, also *welle* (*well*, A. S. *well* and *wella*, *fons*); and in *wel*, also *well* (*well*, A. S. *wel*, *bene*). The variation of quantity, which the Ormulum shows in the last of these words, is seen, continued to the present day, in Scottish *weel*, compared with English *well*. Further, before *ld* a short vowel is lengthened in the following:

- O. *cwaldenn* (*they quelled*, *killed*), from *cwellenn*, A. S. *cwealdon*, from *cwellan*.  
*dwalde* (*he dwelt*), from *dwellenn*, A. S. *dwealde*, from *dwellan* (*to hinder*, *delay*).  
*elde* (*old age*, cf. *eld*), A. S. *ylt* *ä* *l*, *eld*.  
*oferrgildedd* (*gilded over*), A. S. *ofergylde*.  
*seldenn* (*seldom*), A. S. *seldan*.

In *scaldess* (*minstrels*, *scalds*, from O. N. *skáld-r*, poet), and *heold*, *held* (*he held*, A. S. *heóld*), the Ormulum preserves an original long sound, which has become short in English.



But the first of these is variously pronounced, as *scālds* and as *scaulds*.

Before the liquid *m* followed by the mute *b*, as before the similar combination *ld*, a short vowel is sometimes lengthened in the Ormulum. Thus in five words, three of which have a long vowel in English, while two preserve the earlier short:

- O. *camb* (*comb*), A. S. *camb*.  
*climbenn* (to *climb*), A. S. *climban*.  
*wambe* (*womb*, *belly*), A. S. *wamb*, *womb*.  
*dumb* (*dumb*), A. S. *dumb*.  
*lamb* (*lamb*), but pl. *lammbre*, A. S. *lamb*, pl. *lambru*.

In like manner, before the liquid *n* followed by the mute *d*, a short vowel has become long in very many words. In *bi-hinndenn* (*behind*, A. S. *behindan*), and *hinnderrling* (degenerate, retrograde in character, A. S. *hinderling*), connected with E. *hinder*, the Ormulum still retains the short sound; as it does before *nt* in *funnt* (*font*, A. S. *font*, cf. E. *fount*), *munnt* (*mount*, A. S. *mund*), *sannt* (*saint*, A. S. *sanct*), where the vowel has become long in English. But the instances are far more numerous in which a vowel before *nd* is already lengthened in the Ormulum. Thus in

- O. *bindenn* (to *bind*), *bundenn* (*bound*), A. S. *bindan*, *bunden*.  
*blind* (*blind*), *blendenn* (to *blind*), A. S. *blind*, *blendan*.  
*findenn* (to *find*), *fundenn* (*found*), A. S. *findan*, *finden*.  
*grindenn* (to *grind*), A. S. *grindan*.  
*grund* (*ground*), but *grunndvall* (*foundation*), A. S. *grund*, *grundweal*.  
*hund* (*hound*), A. S. *hund*.  
*kinde* (*nature*, *kind*, *kindred*), A. S. *gecynd*.  
*minde* (*mind*, *memory*), but *minndiznesse* (*memory*), A. S. *gemynd*.  
*sund* (*sound*, *integer*), A. S. *sund*.  
*-windenn* (to *wind*), in *attwindenn* (to *escape*), *wundenn* (*wound*), but *winnde-clut* and *windeclut* (*winding-clout*, *swaddling cloth*); A. S. *windan*, *wunden*.  
*wunde* (*wound*, *vulnus*), A. S. *wund*.

In the preterit singular, the Ormulum has *band*, *fand*, *wand*, like the Anglo-Saxon, but with short *a* lengthened; these forms, however, are not represented in English, where the vowel of *bound*, *found*, *wound*, comes from the plural forms, *bundenn*, *fundenn*, etc., A. S. *bundon*, *fundon*, etc. The change of vowel quantity before *nd* (as before *ld* and *mb*) is carried further in the Ormulum than in the modern English, being extended to a number of words in which it failed to establish

itself, so that the original short vowel is heard in their present pronunciation. Thus in

O. *band* (*band*), A. S. *bend*.

*ende* (*end*, vulgar *eend*), A. S. *ende*.

*hand* (*hand*), oftener *hannð*, but with added -e always *hande*, A. S. *hand*.

*land* (*land*), A. S. *land*.

*sand* (*sand*), A. S. *sand*.

*sendenn* (to *send*), but *sennde* (he *sent*), A. S. *sendan*, *sende*.

*shendenn* (to *shend*, disgrace), A. S. *scendan*.

*strande* (*strand*, *bank*), A. S. *strand*.

*sunderr-run* (private communing, cf. *sunder*, *asunder*), A. S. *sundor*.

*wand* (rod, *wand*), O. N. *vand-r*, *vönd-r*, Goth. *vandus*.

*wendenn* (to *wend*, turn, go), but *wennde* (he turned, *went*), A. S. *wendan*, *wende*.

The word *freond*, *frend* (*friend*, A. S. *freōnd*) does not belong to this series; it came with long vowel quantity from the Anglo-Saxon into the Ormulum, and passed thus into the older English, as we see from the spelling with *ie*, which it has in common with the opposite, but strictly analogous, *fiend* (O. *fend*, A. S. *feōnd*).

It is a very curious fact that a lengthening of the vowel before *ng*, similar to that before *nd*, is frequent in the Ormulum, although unknown to modern English, in which the vowel before *ng* is always short.\* Examples are

O. *gang* (journey, cf. *gangway*), but *ganngenn* (to go), A. S. *gang*, *gangan*.

*gegne* (company, cf. *gang*), A. S. *gegne*.

*king* (*king*), A. S. *cynig*, *cynig*.

*lang* (*long*), *bilenge* (*belonging to*), A. S. *lang*, *gelenge*; but *lanng* (*long*, *diu*),

*lennge* (*longer*), A. S. *lange*, *lengra*, *leng*.

*langenn* (to *long after*), *forrlangedd* (*desirous*), A. S. *langian*.

*mang*, *amang* and *amanng* (*among*), A. S. *amang*, *gemang*.

*ringenn* (to *ring*), A. S. *hringan*.

*singenn* (to *sing*), *sungenn* (*they sung*), *sang* (*song*), A. S. *singan*, *sungon*, *sang*.

*springenn* (to *spring*), *sprang* (*sprang*), *sprungenn* (*sprung*), *offspring* (*offspring*),

A. S. *springan*, *sprang*, *sprungen*, *ofspring*.

*stingenn* (to *sting*), *stungenn* (*stung*), A. S. *stingan*, *stungen*.

*strang* (*strong*), *strengegn* (to *strengthen*), but *strenncthe* (*strength*), A. S. *strang*,

*gestrangian*, *strenghu*.

*swingenn* (to *scourge*, cf. to *swing*, *swinge*), A. S. *swingan*.

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\* The Norse grammarians recognize in that language a similar lengthening of primitive short vowels (*a*, *o*, *u*, *i*), when followed by *ng* (or *nk*; also of *a*, *o*, *u*, when followed by *lf*, *lg*, *lk*, *lm*, *lp*, *ls*): thus *lång-r* (*long*), *sprunga* (to *spring*), *tunga* (*tongue*), *væng-r* or *veng-r* (*wing*). It seems, however, to be questionable, whether, or how far, this change belonged to the old language. See Heyne, *Kurze Gramm. der altgerm. Dialecte*, 2d ed., p. 82.

O. *thing* (*thing*), A. S. *thing*.

*bithrungenn* (oppressed, cf. *throng*, i. e. press of people), A. S. *bithrunge*, from *thringan*, *gethrang*; but O. *threnngdenn* (they *thronged*), A. S. *threngdon*, from *threngan*.

*thwang* (*thong*), A. S. *thwang*.

*tunge* (*tongue*), A. S. *tunge*.

*wengess* (*wings*), O. N. *veng-r*.

*wrang* (*wrong*), A. S. *wrang*.

*zung* (*young*), rarely *zunng*, comp. *zunngre* (*younger*), A. S. *geong*, *gyngra*.

In *heng* (*hung*, A. S. *hêng*; but *henngde* [*hanged*], A. S. *hangode*), the vowel was already long in Anglo-Saxon. Whether this extension to *ng* of the euphonic analogy which obtains for *nd* ever gained much currency in the language, may well be doubted. It seems certain that it cannot have prevailed at the time (probably in the fifteenth century) when the old long sounds of *i* and *u* (as in *pique*, *prude*) began to pass into the diphthongal sounds heard in *pike* and *proud*; for in that case, instead of saying *kîng*, *thîng*, *tôngue*, *sûng*, as we now do, we should probably be saying *kîng*, *thîng*, *toung*, *soung*, with the same vowel utterance as in *kînd*, *sound*. It may be observed, however, that in the most recent English there is a noticeable tendency to lengthen somewhat the short sound of *o* before *ng*, so that *long*, *song* are apt to be pronounced with much the same vowel sound as *or*, *nor*, *for*.

If now we have found in combinations such as *ld*, *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, where the first letter is a liquid and the second its cognate sonant mute, a certain tendency to protract the quantity of a preceding short vowel, it must be remarked that the ordinary tendency of a combination of consonants is in the opposite direction, — not to the lengthening of a preceding short, but to the shortening of a preceding long. The speaker slights the vowel in order to concentrate his energy of utterance on the following consonants, which thus massed together present some difficulty of enunciation. It is as in the Greek *πενέσ-τερος* (poorer), for *πενηστέρος*, i. e. *πενητ-τερος*, from *πένης*, *πένητ-ος*. Of this change — a long vowel shortened on account of two or more consonants following it — numerous examples are found in the language of the Ormulum, when compared with the Anglo-Saxon. Thus

O. *asskenn* (to ask), A. S. *āscian*.

*blosstme* (blossom), A. S. *blōstma*.

*chappmenn* (chapmen, merchants), A. S. *ceapmen*; cf. O. *chepinngbothe* (market-booth).

*clennlike* (cleanly), *clennsenn* (to cleanse), from *clene* (clean), A. S. *clænlice*, *clænsian*, from *clæne*.

*dredde* (he dreaded), *forrdredd* (alarmed), from *drædenn*, *dredenn* (to dread), A. S. *drêd*, *dræden*, from *drædan*; in O. as in E., the verb has passed into the weak conj.

*errnde* (errand), A. S. *ærende*.

*fedde* (he fed), from *fedenn* (to feed), A. S. *fēdde*, from *fēdan*.

*fifti* (fifty), from *fif* (five), A. S. *fīftig*, from *fīf*.

*fostrenn* (to foster), *fosterrfaderr* (foster-father), A. S. *fōsterian*, *fōsterfäder*.

*goddspell* (gospel) belongs here, if the A. S. word is *góðspel* (good tidings, = *εὐαγγέλιον*); but this is now generally believed to be *godspel* (God's word).

*hallzhenn* (saints, cf. *Hallow-eeen*), *hallzhenn* (to hallow), A. S. *hālige* or *hālgæ*, *hālgian*.

*hiddenn* (they hid), *hidd* (hid), from *hidenn* (to hide), A. S. *hýddon*, *hýded*, from *hýdan*.

*kepte* (he kept), from *kepenn* (to keep), A. S. *cēpte*, from *cépan*.

*lasstenn* (to last), also *lastenn*, A. S. *læstan*.

*ledde* (he led), *ledd* (led), from *ledenn* (to lead), A. S. *lædde*, *læded*, from *lædan*.

*mosste* (might, cf. must), A. S. *mōste*.

*nesst* (nearest, next), also *nest* (Sc. *niest*), A. S. *nēhst*.

*redd* (read, part.), A. S. *rêded*, from *rêdan*.

*shadde* (he parted), *shaadd* (parted), from *shædenn* (to part, cf. to shed), A. S. *sceôd*, *sceadden*, from *sceddan*: of weak conj. in O. and E.

*siththenn* (sithence, since), A. S. *sīdh tham*, *sīdhðhan*, perhaps *sīdhðhan*.

*sleppte* (he slept), from *slæpenn* (to sleep), A. S. *slēp*, from *slæpan*: of weak conj. in O. and E.

*softe* (soft), A. S. *sōfte*.

*spredd* (spread, part.), A. S. *spræded*, from *sprædan*.

*thratte* (he rebuked, cf. threatened), A. S. *thredtēde*, from *thredtīan*.

*wepptenn* (they wept), from *wepenn* (to weep), A. S. *wēōpon*, from *wēpan*: of weak conj. in O. and E.

*wimmann* (woman), also *wifmann*, A. S. *wifman*, *wimman*, perhaps *wimman*.

*wissdom* (wisdom), also *wisdom*, A. S. *wisdóm*.

Probably the short vowel in *wraththe* (*wrath*), as well as in *laththe* (*loathing*, *enmity*), and *kiththe* seen in *kiththelīz* (familiarily, cf. *kith*), may be accounted for in this way, from the addition of a suffix *the* (A. S. *dh*, *dhu*) — the same as in *strenncthe* (*strength*), *trouwthe* (*truth*), from *strang* (*strong*), *trouwe* (*true*) — to the adjectives *wrath* (*wrōth*, A. S. *wrādh*), *lath* (*loathsome*, *hateful*, A. S. *lādh*), and *cuth* (*known*, *couth*, A. S. *cūdh*): compare A. S. *lædhðhu* (*offence*), *cūdhðhu* (*home*, *household*). It is possible that in these words, as well as in *dredde*, *fedde*, *hiddenn*, *ledde*, *shadde*, *siththenn*, *wimmann*, the

first vowel may have been pronounced long, the following consonant being written double only because it was sounded twice, first in the stem, and again in the suffix.\* It is also possible, or even probable, that in some cases the change from long to short, now under consideration, may have taken place already in the Anglo-Saxon;† but this makes no difference, either in the reality of the change, or in the cause from which it arose.

In the list of words just given, the short sound which appears in the Ormulum is maintained in modern English. The case is otherwise with those which follow :

O. *allmasst* (almost), though the simple word is nearly always *mast* (most), A. S. *mæst*.

*demmd* (judged), from *dem-nn* (to judge, cf. *doom*, *deem*), A. S. *dēmed*, from *dēman*.

*derre* (dearer), from *deore*, *dere* (dear), A. S. *deórra*, from *deóre*.

*derrling* (darling), A. S. *deórling*.

*dunnwardd* (downward), from *dun* (down), A. S. *adunward*, from *dún*.

*hehhe* (higher), also *hehre*, from *heh* (high), A. S. *hedhra*, from *heðh*.

*herrde* (he heard), *herrd* (heard), from *herenn* (to hear), A. S. *hýrde*, *hýred*, from *hýran*.

\* Such a supposition must, however, be regarded as improbable for these words on account of the short quantity which they have in English; and especially improbable for the preterits in *-dde*, on account of the corresponding participles *dredd*, *hidd*, *ledd*, etc., in which a really double pronunciation of the *d* is hardly to be thought of.

What is here recognized as possible — that a vowel before a doubled consonant may have been long, the consonant being written twice because actually twice sounded — must be admitted also for *lutte* (he louted), as well as the comparatives *derre* (dearer) and *nerre* (nearer), mentioned in the next paragraph; and, perhaps with still stronger reason, for the words *clænnesse* (clean-ness), *fiffald* (fivefold), *læfffull* (belief-full, believing). As we have *skilllæs* (skill-less, ignorant), *sefennahht* (seven-night, week), *unnned* (un-need, without constraint), *sunderrun* (sunder-roun, private communing), *forraht* (perverted, Germ. *ver-rückt*), it seems not unlikely that the *r*, *n*, and *f* would have been written thrice in *derre*, *nerre*, *clænnesse*, *fiffald*, *læfffull*, if their first vowel had been short in sound; but the spelling of *fullike* (full-like, fully), *stilliz* (stilly), *idellezic* = *idellesse* (idleness), *drunkennesse* (drunken-ness), *unnitt* (useless, Germ. *un-nütz*), *forswundenness* (remissness), *orrath* as well as *orrrath* (inops consilii, O. N. *ör-rádh*), warns us not to lay too much stress on this consideration.

† The same possibility is not to be overlooked in other cases where the vowel quantity of the Ormulum differs from what must have been the primitive quantity in Anglo-Saxon. This is particularly true as to that lengthening of vowels in open syllables which is soon to be considered: the change could hardly have gone so far in the language of the Ormulum, if it had not made a beginning in Anglo-Saxon times.

- O. *laſſdiȝ* (*lady*), A. S. *hlæfdige*; cf. O. *laſerrd* (*lord*), A. S. *hlāford*.  
*licness* (*likeness*), from *lic* (*like*), A. S. *gelīcnes*, from *gelīc*, but O. *onnlicnesse* (*likeness, image*).  
*lutte* (*he bowed, louted*), from *lutenn* (*to lout*), A. S. *lēdt*, from *lutan*: of weak conj. in O. and E.  
*nerre* (*nearer*), from *ner* (*nearly*), O. N. *nærri*, from *nær*; cf. O. *ner* (*nearer*), from *neh* (*nigh*), A. S. *neār*, from *neāh*.  
*oththr*, *orr*, from *otherr* (all meaning *or*), A. S. *āðher* = *āwðher* (*either*): *oththr*, perhaps, by a confusion of A. S. *odhdhe* (*or*) with *āðher*.  
*Thurrsdazȝ* (*Thursday*), O. N. *Þórs-dag-r*, A. S. *Thunres-dæg*.  
*wennde* (*he weened*), from *wenenn* (*to ween, think*), A. S. *wēnde*, from *wēnan*.  
*wesste* (*waste, desert, adj. and subst.*), A. S. *wēste*.

From a continued working out of the same tendency, the English has a short vowel before two or more consonants in some words where the Ormulum shows the original long vowel quantity:

- O. *adle* (*disease, cf. addle*), A. S. *ādll*.  
*breost, brest* (*breast*), A. S. *breóst*.  
*brethre* (*brethren*), A. S. *brōðhru*.  
*buhsum* (*pliant, compliant, cf. buxom*), from A. S. *būgan* (*to bend, bow*).  
*to-clæf* (*he cleft, also clave, clove*), A. S. *clēaf*, from *clēofan* (*to cleave*).  
*dost* (*dost, usual pron. dūst*), also *dosst*, from *dōn* (*to do*), A. S. *dést*, from *dōn*.  
*fifte* (*fifth*), *fiftende* (*fifteenth*), A. S. *fīfta*, *fīfteódha*, O. N. *fimtándi*.  
*freond, frend* (*friend*), A. S. *fréond*.  
*gom* (*care, heed, cf. gumption*), A. S. *geám*.  
*hæse* (*command, heist*), A. S. *hæs*.  
*heold, held* (*he held*), from *haldenn* (*to hold*), A. S. *heōld*, from *healdan*.  
*moneth* (*month*), A. S. *mōnadh*.  
*naness*, in *fōrr the naness* (*for the nonce*), from *ænness* (*once, Sc. aines*), A. S. *æne*.

In the following words also the shortening may be explained on the same principle, since the vowel which is written before their final liquid is little, if at all, represented in their actual pronunciation:

- O. *æfre* (*ever*), *næfre* (*never*), A. S. *æfre*, *næfre*.  
*becnenn* (*to beckon*), A. S. *bécnan*, *bedcnian*.  
*bosemm* (*bosom, often pron. with long oo sound*), A. S. *bōsm*.  
*brotherr* (*brother*), pl. *brethre* (*brethren*), A. S. *brōðhor*, *brōðhru*.  
*moderr* (*mother*), A. S. *mōdor*.  
*otherr* (*other*), A. S. *ōðher*.  
*wæpenn* (*weapon*), A. S. *wæpen*.

The cases which we have been considering show an accented long vowel shortened in a close syllable, where it is

separated by more than one audible consonant sound from the vowel of the following syllable. We have next to notice a change which is the converse of this,—a change which has cut much deeper into the integrity of the old system of quantities,—the lengthening of an accented short vowel in an open syllable (generally a penult), that is, when separated by only one consonant sound from the vowel of the syllable which follows. This change has been carried to a very great extent in the modern German: *geben* (to *give*), *nieder* (down, cf. E. *nether*), *tragen* (to *draw*), *nehmen* (to *take*), are examples taken up at random out of an immense multitude. According to Schleicher, this change of quantity belongs to, and is a prominent feature in, the transition from Middle to Modern High German, which was made in the fifteenth century. In England the change must have commenced its progress earlier, as we find it carried very far in the language of the Ormulum, which belongs to the thirteenth century. We give first the instances in which the lengthened vowel seen in the Ormulum became so established in English usage as to remain long in the pronunciation of to-day. Thus

O. *-ale* (*ale*), in *bridale* (*bride-feast*), A. S. *ealu*, *brýdealu*. In E. *bridal* it has become short again.

*aʒhe* (*awe*), but also *eʒʒe* (*fear*), A. S. *ege*; cf. O. N. *ægja* (to strike with fear or *awe*).

*bakenn* (to *bake*), A. S. *bacan*.

*bede* (prayer, cf. *bead*, *bead-roll*, *beads-man*), A. S. *gebed*.

*berenn* (to *bear*), *borenn* (*born*), A. S. *beran*, *boren*.

*bidell* (crier, messenger, cf. *beadle*), A. S. *bydel*

*brasene* (*brazen*), from *brass* (*brass*), A. S. *bräsen*, from *bräs*.

*brekenn* (to *break*), A. S. *brecan*.

*bridledd* (*bridled*), with *i* from *bridell* (? not found in O.), A. S. *bridel*.

*bule* (*bole*, *tree-stem*), in *bulaʒe* (*axe*, *hatchet*, cf. *pole-axe*), O. N. *bolöxi*, from *bol-r*.

*care* (*care*), A. S. *cearu*, *caru*.

*chariz* (mournful, anxious, cf. *chary*), A. S. *cearig*, from *cearu*.

*chosenn* (*chosen*), from *chesenn* (to *choose*), A. S. *coren*, from *ceósan*.

*clofenn* (*cloven*), A. S. *clofen*, from *cleófun* (to *cleave*).

*cnapess* (*boy's*, cf. *knave*), A. S. *cnape*, *cnafa* (*boy*).

*cnedenn* (to *knead*), A. S. *cnedun*.

*dækenn* (*Levite*, *deacon*), A. S. *diacon*, Lat. *diaconus*.

*dale* (*dale*), A. S. *däl*: original quantity preserved in E. *dell*.

*draʒhenn* (to *draw*, *drawn*), A. S. *dragan*, *dragen*.

*kirkkedure* (*church-door*), A. S. *duru* (*door*).

- O. *efenn* (equal, even), but pl. *effne*, vb. *effnenn*, A. S. *efen*, *efenian*.  
*ele* (oil), A. S. *ele*, O. Fr. *oile*, *oille*, Lat. *oleum*.  
*etenn* (to eat), but impv. *ett* (eat), A. S. *etan*, *et*.  
*fäderr* (father), A. S. *fäder*.  
*faren* (to go, fare), but impv. *farr*, A. S. *faran*, *far*.  
*biforenn* (before), also *biforr*, A. S. *beforan*.  
*bifroren* (frozen), A. S. *froren*, from *freósan* (to freeze).  
*gate* (way, cf. gait), O. N. *gata* (way), A. S. *geat* (gate).  
*græfess* (ditches, cf. grave), A. S. *gräf*.  
*-gume* (man), in *bridgume* (bridegroom), A. S. *guma*, *brýdguma*.  
*hatenn* (to hate), *hete* (hate), A. S. *hatian*, *hete*.  
*hefenn* (to raise, heave), *hofenn* (hove, hoven), A. S. *hebban*, *hofen*.  
*hire* (her), A. S. *hire*.  
*hizhenn* (to hasten, cf. to hie), A. S. *higian*.  
*hope* (hope), A. S. *hopa*.  
*ifell* (evil), A. S. *yfel*.  
*kechell* (cake), O. N. *kaka*.  
*ladenn* (to draw out, cf. to lade water, also ladle), A. S. *hladan*.  
*late* (late), but *lattré* (latter), *lattst* (last), A. S. *lät*, *lätra*, *latost*.  
*lazhe* (law), A. S. *lagu*.  
*forlore* (lost, cf. *forlorn*), from *forrílesenn* (to lose), A. S. *forloren*, from *forleósan*.  
*makenn* (to make, Sc. *mak*), but impv. *macc*, A. S. *macian*, *maca*.  
*mele* (meal, flour), A. S. *melu*.  
*mete* (meat, food), A. S. *mete*.  
*efennmete* (commensurate), from *mett* (measure, cf. *mete*), A. S. *gemet*: O. *metelike* (meetly), A. S. *gemetlice*.  
*nakedd* (naked), A. S. *nacod*.  
*name* (name), but *nemmnenn* (to name), A. S. *name*, *nemnan*.  
*binethenn* (beneath), but *niththre* (to lower, cf. *nether*), A. S. *beneodhan*, *nidherian*.  
*nizhenn* (nine), *nizhennde* (ninth), A. S. *nigon*, *nigodha*, O. N. *niundi* (ninth).  
*oferr* (over), but also *offr*, A. S. *ofer*.  
*openn* (open), but *oppnenn* (to open), A. S. *open*, *openian*.  
*reghellboc* (rule-book), A. S. *regol*, Lat. *regula*.  
*sake* (quarrel, cf. *sake*), A. S. *sacu*.  
*forsakenn* (to forsake, forsaken), A. S. *forsacan*, *forsacen*.  
*same* (same), A. S. *same* (pariter), O. N. *sam-r* (idem).  
*sejhenn*, *sene* (seen), A. S. *sewen*, *segen*, *sén*, from *seón* (to see).  
*shame* (shame), but *shammfäst* (shamefaced), A. S. *sceamu*, *sceamfäst*.  
*shapenn* (to form, create, cf. to shape), A. S. *sceppan*.  
*skathenn* (to harm, to scathe), A. S. *sceadhan*.  
*slazenn* (slain), from *slan* (to slay), A. S. *slagen*, from *sleán*.  
*smeredd* (anointed, cf. *smeared*), A. S. *smyred*, from *smyrian*, cf. *smeoru* (ointment).  
*spekenn* (to speak), A. S. *sprecan*, and *specan*.  
*stëlenn* (to steal), A. S. *stelan*.  
*stirenn* (to stir, move, Sc. *steer*), A. S. *styrian*.  
*swerenn* (to swear), A. S. *swerian*.



- O. *anndswere* (answer), A. S. *andswaru*.  
*takenn* (to take, taken, Sc. *tak*), but impv. *tacc*, A. S. *tacan*, *tacen*, *tac*.  
*tale* (reckoning, number, cf. *tale*), A. S. *talū*.  
*tholenn* (to suffer, Sc. *thole*), A. S. *tholian*.  
*wakenn* (to wake, watch), A. S. *wacan*.  
*waterr* (water), but *wattrenn* (to water), A. S. *wäter*, *wäterian*.  
*weoreldd*, *werelld* (world), but gen. *weorrlæss*, *werrlæss*, A. S. *weoruld*, *woruld*,  
*world*.  
*wrekenn* (to wreak), *wræche* (wreak, revenge), A. S. *wrecan*, *wracu*.  
*wuke* (week), A. S. *wucu*.  
*ȝate* (gate), also *gate*, A. S. *geat*.

It is remarkable that this change is carried to a much greater extent in the Semi-Saxon of the Ormulum than it is in modern English. It should seem that there must have been a reaction early established, which set limits to the tendency, and maintained the short vowel in many words where it had begun to be lengthened. Instances of this kind—where an accented short vowel in an open syllable is lengthened in the Ormulum, but the same vowel is found short in English (mostly, indeed, in monosyllables with final consonant sound)—are the following:

- O. *abyfenn* (above), = *byfenn*, from A. S. *ā*, *be*, and *ufan*.  
*beodenn*, *bedenn* (bidden), A. S. *boden* (commanded), *beden* (entreated). [The A. S. verbs *biddan* (to entreat) and *beōdan* (to command) are pretty much confounded in O.]  
*bisscoppess*, pl. of *bisscopp* (bishop), A. S. *bisceop*; *bisscoppess* had a secondary accent on the *o*.  
*bīte* (bit, morsel), A. S. *bite*.  
*bodiz* (body), A. S. *bodig*.  
*bule* (bull), Dutch *bul*, O. N. *boli*.  
*clepedd* (called, cf. *clept*, *yclept*), from *clepenn*, A. S. *cleopod*, from *cleopian*.  
*cūde* (cud), A. S. *cud*.  
*cumenn* (to come, also as part.), but impv. *comm*, *cumm*, A. S. *cuman*, *cumen*,  
*cum*.  
*cwike*, pl. of *cwice* (living, quick), A. S. *cwic*.  
*dide* (*did*), from *don* (to do), A. S. *dyde*, from *dōn*.  
*drake* (dragon), A. S. *draca*, Lat. *draco*.  
*drifenn* (driven), from *drifenn* (to drive), A. S. *drifan*, from *drifan*.  
*fretenn* (to fret, trans.), A. S. *fretan* (to eat up).  
*glade*, pl. of *gladd* (*glad*), *gladenn* (to gladden), A. S. *glād*, *gladian*.  
*goddess*, gen. of *godd* (*god*), but pl. *goddess*, A. S. *god*.  
*gresess* (grasses), sing. in *gresshoppe* (grasshopper), A. S. *grās*, *gārs*, *gārshoppa*.  
*hafenn*, but *habbennu* (to have), *hafesst*, but *haffst* (*hast*), *haffde* (*had*), A. S.  
*habban*, *hāfst*, *hāfde*.  
*hefiz* (heavy), A. S. *hefig*.  
*heofenn* (heaven) in comp., but as sep. word *heoffne*, *heffne*, A. S. *heofon*.

- O. *hiderr* (hither), A. S. *hider*.  
*hise*, pl. of *hiss* (*his*), A. S. *his*.  
*huniȝ* (honey), A. S. *hunig*.  
*kide* (*kid*), O. N. *kid*.  
*kinness*, *kine* (comm. *kinness*, *kinne*), gen. and pl. of *kinn* (*kin*, *kind*), A. S. *cyn*.  
*lifethth* (liveth), from *libbenn* (to live), A. S. *lifadh*, *libban*.  
*limess* (limbs), sing. not in O., A. S. *lim*, pl. *leomu*, *limu*.  
*litell* (little), pl. *little*, A. S. *lytel*.  
*lokenn* (shut in, cf. *locked*), A. S. *locen*, from *lúcæn*.  
*lotess*, pl. of *lott* (*lot*), A. S. *hlot*, pl. *hlotu*.  
*lufe* (love), *lufenn* (to love), but *luffsumm* (pleasant), A. S. *lufu*, *lufian*, *lufsum*.  
*maniȝ*, *mani* (many), A. S. *manig*.  
*mikell* (great, many, mickle, much), but pl. *mickle*, A. S. *micel*.  
*mineteress* (money-changers, cf. *minter*, *mint*), A. S. *mynetere*, from *mynet* (money), Lat. *moneta*.  
*muncelif* (monk-life), A. S. *munc* (monk), Lat. *monachus*.  
*naru* (narrow), but pl. *narrwe*, A. S. *nearu*.  
*nile* (nill he, i. e. *will not*), but *nillt* (*wilt not*), A. S. *nelle*, *nelt*.  
*ofne* (oven), dat. of *ofenn* (? not in O.), A. S. *ofen*.  
*pening* (penny), A. S. *pending*, *pening*, *penig*.  
*rathe* (quickly, cf. *rathe*, *rather*), A. S. *hradhe*, *hradhor*, from *hrædh* (quick).  
*risenn* (risen), from *risenn* (to rise), A. S. *risen*, from *rîsan*.  
*rotenn* (to rot), A. S. *rotian*.  
*Saterrdaȝȝ* (Saturday), A. S. *Säterndäg*, Lat. *Saturni dies*.  
*seofenn*, *sefenn* (seven), but also *seoffne*, *seffne*; *seofenntiȝ* (seventy): A. S. *seofon*, *hundseofontig*.  
*shetenn* (to shut up), A. S. *scyttan*.  
*sikerr* (sure, Sc. *sicker*), O. Sax. *sikor*, O. H. Germ. *sihhur*, Lat. *securus*.  
*sine*, rare for *sinne* (sin), A. S. *syn*.  
*skathelæs* (unharmed, scathless), A. S. *sceadha* (harmer).  
*stafess*, pl. of *staff* (letter, cf. *staff*, old pl. *staves*), A. S. *stäf* (*staff*, letter).  
*stede* (place, cf. *stead*), A. S. *stede*.  
*stekenn* (to confine, cf. to *stick*, remain fast), A. S. *stician*.  
*stoke* (stock), dat. of *stoc* (? not in O.), A. S. *stoc*.  
*sume*, pl. of *sum* (some), A. S. *sum*.  
*sumerr* (summer), A. S. *sumor*.  
*sune* (son), A. S. *sunu*.  
*Sunenndaȝȝ* (Sunday), from *sunne*, rarely *süne* (sun), A. S. *sunne*, *Sunnandäg*.  
*thiderr* (thither), A. S. *thider*.  
*fulthriȝenn* (complete, cf. *thriven*), O. N. *thriřinn*, from *thriřask* (to thrive).  
*thripell* (triple), from Lat. *triplex*, Fr. *triple*, confused with A. S. *thri*; cf. prov. Eng. *thribble*.  
*tredenn* (to tread, trodden), A. S. *tredan*, *treden*.  
*whiderrwarrrd* (whitherward), A. S. *hwider*.  
*widewe*, comm. *widdwe* (widow), A. S. *widwe*, *wydewe*.  
*wilenn* (to will), but *willt* (*wilt*), A. S. *willan*, *wilt*.  
*witenn* (to know, cf. to *wit*, O. E. to *weet*), but impv. *witt*, A. S. *witan*, *wit*.  
*writenn* (written), from *writenn* (to write), A. S. *writen*, from *writan*: cf. O. *writess*, pl. of *writt* (*writ*), A. S. *writ*.

O. *wude* (wood), A. S. *wudu*.

*wunedd* (wont), from *winenn* (to accustom), A. S. *wuna*, *gewuna* (custom).

*zetenn* (to get), *zett* (gets), *biȝetenn* (gotten), A. S. *begitan*, *begiten*.

*ȝifenn* (to give, given), also written with *g*, but impv. *ȝiff*; A. S. *gifan*, *gifen*, *gif*

That this change — the lengthening of an accented short vowel in an open syllable — was still in progress at the time of the Ormulum, so that the usage in respect to it was then unsettled and fluctuating, is apparent from indications in the book itself. A number of the words given in the last two lists have here and there a mark of short quantity written over the vowel, as if the writer, having first given it as long with only a single consonant after it, was afterwards inclined to recall his judgment, to set it down as short, and therefore drew a curve line over it, this being an easier way than doubling the consonant by interlineation. What makes this explanation more probable is the fact that, while there are more than forty distinct words which in one place or another have this short mark over them, it occurs in almost every case over an accented vowel in an open syllable. That there was a special vacillation on the part of the writer as to the quantity of such vowels, seems a natural, if it is not a necessary, inference from this fact. Thus *berenn* (to bear) is once at least written with a mark of short quantity over the accented vowel; and the same is true of *bede* (*bede*), *dale* (*dale*), *hatenn* (to hate), *hete* (*hate*), *ladenn* (to lade), *late* (*late*), *mele* (*meal*), *mete* (*meat*), *name* (*name*), *stelen* (to steal), *takenn* (to take), *tale* (*tale*); also *bite* (*bit*), *cude* (*cud*), *kine* (*kin*), *lifethth* (*liveth*), *sine* (*sin*), *stede* (*stead*), *thrifenn* (*thriven*), *wilenn* (to will), *witenn* (to wit), *writenn* (*written*).

Under the broad euphonic analogies and tendencies which have now been described come all but a comparatively small number of the cases in which the modern English quantity differs from that in the Ormulum. There remain, however, some few changes which are not altogether of an isolated character. A long vowel of the Anglo-Saxon and the Ormulum has in a good many instances been shortened before a final mute. This is especially the case with the old long *o* before a final *k*-sound. The long quantity of that vowel was indicated

in early English by doubling the *o*: thus *bōc* was written *book*. The sound afterwards changed to that which we hear in *spook*, *spool*; and still later was shortened to its present pronunciation. Instances of this kind are

- O. *boc\** (*book*), A. S. *bōc*.  
*croc* (*hook or crook, device*), O. N. *krók-r*.  
*lokenn* (*to look*), A. S. *lōcian*.  
*forrsoc* (*forsook*), from *forrsakenn* (*to forsake*), A. S. *fōrsóc*, from *forsacan*.  
*toc* (*took*), from *takenn* (*to take*), A. S. *tōc*, from *tacan*.

Occasionally other long vowels have become short before a *k*-sound, as in

- O. *brukenn* (*to use, enjoy, cf. to brook*), A. S. *brūcan*.  
*fic* (*fig*), in *fictre* (*fig-tree*), A. S. *fīc*, Lat. *figus*.  
*seoc, sec* (*sick*), A. S. *seōc*.  
*strac* (*passed, cf. struck, O. E. strook*), A. S. *strāc*, from *strīcan*.  
*wic* (*dwelling, street, cf. Swanwick, Greenwich*), A. S. *wīc*.

The same change of quantity has taken place not unfrequently before *d*, seldomer before *t*: thus

- O. *blod* (*blood*), A. S. *blōd*.  
*flod* (*flood*), A. S. *flōd*.  
*god* (*good*), A. S. *gōd*.  
*stod* (*stood*), from *stanndenn* (*to stand*), A. S. *stōd*, from *standan*.  
*wod* (*mad, Sc. wud*), A. S. *wōd*.  
*bræd* (*bread*), A. S. *brædd*.  
*dæd* (*dead*), A. S. *dædd*.  
*drædenn, dredenn* (*to dread*), A. S. *drædan*.  
*hæfædd* (*head*), A. S. *hæfōd*.  
*shædenn* (*to part, cf. to shed*), A. S. *sceðdan*.  
*shrædenn* (*to shred, pare, cf. Sc. scree'd*), A. S. *screddian*.  
*but, comm. butt* (*but, except*), A. S. *būtan*.  
*fot* (*foot*), A. S. *fōt*.  
*hat* (*hot*), A. S. *hāt*.  
*lætenn* and *lētenn* (*to let, allow, also as part. let*), pf. *let* (*he let*), A. S. *lætan*,  
*læten*, pf. *lēt*.  
*swat* (*sweat*), A. S. *swāt*.  
*wæte* (*drink*), from *wæt* (*not in O., wet, Sc. weet*), A. S. *wæt*.  
*wat, also watt* (*wot*), from *witenn* (*to know, cf. to wit*), A. S. *wāt*, from *witan*.

In *bedethth* or *biddethth* (*biddeth*), *forrbedethth* (*forbiddeth*), the long form comes from A. S. *beōdan* (*to command*), the short one from A. S. *biddan* (*to entreat*): in *biddenn* (*to com-*

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\* In this word, and in several others, where a long vowel has become short before a final consonant, the Scotch retains the earlier long quantity: thus *buik*, *bruik*, *bluid*, *gude*, etc.

mand, to entreat) of the Ormulum, the forms of the two verbs are very much confounded.

The few cases in which the difference of quantity between the Ormulum and the modern English is not to be explained from principles already set forth, will be found, so far as I have noted them, in the following list :

O. *amæn* (*amen*), Gr. ᾠμῆν.

*an* (*an*, *one*), rarely *ann*; *nan* (*none*); *onnan*, *anan*, also *anann* (*anon*); A. S. *ān*, *nān*. Eng. *alone*, *atone*, *only*, and Sc. *ane*, *nane*, preserve the original long quantity.

*aniȝ* (*any*), A. S. *ænig*.

*beon*, *ben* (*to be*, *been*), A. S. *beón* (*to be*): the long sound of *been* is still sometimes heard.

*cariteth* (*charity*), Fr. *charité*, Prov. *caritat*, Lat. *caritas*.

*chele*, also *chēle* (*chill*, subs.), A. S. *cēle*.

*clath* (*clothing*, cf. *clōth*, but pl. *clōthes*), A. S. *clādth*.

*cuthe* (*could*), A. S. *cūðhe*.

*dæf* (*deaf*, cf. Sc. *deave*, *to deafen*), A. S. *deáf*.

*dæth* (*death*), A. S. *deaðth*.

*deofell*, *defell* (*devil*, Sc. *deevil*), A. S. *deōfol*, Lat. *diabolus*.

*doth* (*doth*, usual pron. *dūth*), from *don* (*to do*), A. S. *dēðh*, from *dón*.

*flæsh* (*flesh*), A. S. *flæsc*.

*gluternesse* (*gluttony*), O. Fr. *gloutonnie* (from *glouton*, Lat. *glūtō(n)*, from *glūtire*): in *gluternesse* English affixes are attached to the root (*glut*) of the Latin and French words.

*gyn* (*art*, *device*, cf. *gin*), shortened from O. Fr. *engin*, but perhaps confused with a derivative of O. N. *ginna* (*to deceive*).

*inoh* (*enough*, also *enow*), A. S. *genōg*, *genōh*.

*bikæchedd* (*caught*), also *bikalht* (*caught*); of uncertain origin.

*profete*, *prophete* (*prophet*), Lat. *prophēta*.

*publicaness* (*publicans*), Lat. *pūblicāni*.

*rædiȝ* (*ready*), also *rædelike*, A. S. *ræde*, *ræðlic*.

*riche* (*rich*), A. S. *rice*.

*sariȝ* (*sorry*), but *sare* (*sorely*), A. S. *sārig*, from *sār* (*sore*).

*seliliȝ* (*happily*), A. S. *sælig*, *geselig* (*happy*, Sc. *seely*), whence E. *silly*.

*shephirde* (*shepherd*), from *shep* (*sheep*), A. S. *sceāp*, *sceðphirde*.

*shunenn* (*to shun*), A. S. *scūnian*.

*tene* (*ten*), rarely *tenn*, *tende* (*tenth*), A. S. *tȳn*, *tén*, *teódha*, O. N. *tíundi* (*tenth*).

The old long quantity is preserved in the compounds *thirteen*, *thirteenth*, etc., and in Sc. *teinds* (*tithes*).

*onnæness* (*against*, *again*), *onnæen* (*again*, *against*), A. S. *ongedn* (*against*).

*ȝet* (*yet*), strangely lengthened in O., A. S. *git*, *get*, *ȝiet*, *ȝyt*.

*ð-unnenn* (*to drown*, trans.), in form = A. S. *druncnian* (*to get one drunk*), cf. O. N. *drukna* (*to be drowned*).

*ennoell* (*angel*), A. S. *engel*, *ängel*, Lat. *angelus*.

O. *flumm* (river, cf. *flume*), O. Fr. *flum*, Lat. *flumen*.  
*funnt* (*font*, cf. *fount*), A. S. *font*, Lat. *fons*, *font-is*.  
*irrene* (of iron, ferreus), from *irenn* (*iron*), A. S. *iren* (*ferrum* and *ferreus*): *rr*  
in *irrene* perhaps an oversight.  
*munnt* (*mount*), A. S. *munt*, Lat. *mons*, *mont-is*.  
*sannt* (*saint*), A. S. *sanct*, Lat. *sanctus*.  
*slekkenn*,\* *slekkenn* (to *slake*), A. S. *sleac* (*slack*), *gesleccan* (to *slacken*), O. N.  
*slökkva* (to *slake*).  
*thurrh* (*through*), A. S. *thurh*, *thuruh*, (*through*, *thorough*).  
*waccenn* (to *waken*, trans. and intrans.), A. S. *wācnan*: lengthened in E. under  
influence of *to wake*, O. *wakenn*, A. S. *wacan*.  
*whamm* (*whom*), from *wha* (*who*), A. S. *hwam*, from *hwa*.  
*Ʒocc* (*yoke*), A. S. *geoc*, *gioc*.

In the case of *been*, *could*, *deaf*, *death*, *enough*, *ready*, *again*,  
*against*, the spelling shows that they came into English with  
the long quantity which they had in the Ormulum. The  
preterits *barr* (*bare*, *bore*, A. S. *bār*), *bat* (*bit*, A. S. *bāt*), *brace*  
(*brake*, *broke*, A. S. *bræc*), *comm* (*came*, A. S. *cwam*, *com*),  
*cwathth* (*quōth*, A. S. *cwādth*), *sahh* (*saw*, A. S. *seah*). *space*  
(*spake*, *spoke*, A. S. *spræc*), *Ʒaff* (*gave*, A. S. *geaf*), have not  
been placed in the foregoing lists, because the English forms,  
though used in both numbers, correspond apparently to the  
plurals of the A. S. (*bæron*, *biton*, *bræcon*, *cwāmon* or *cōmon*,  
*cwædon*, *sāwon* or *sægon*, *spræcon*, *geāfon*) and the O. (*bærenn*,  
*comenn*, *sæzhenn*, *spækenn*, *Ʒæfenn*): in *et* (*he ate*, A. S. *æt*)  
with long *e* like pl. *etenn* (*they ate*, A. S. *æton*), the same ex-  
tension of the plural quantity to the singular appears even in  
the Ormulum. The *ou* in the English preterits *bound*, *found*,  
*wound*, — A. S. 1, 3 sing. *band*, *fand*, *wand*, pl. *bundon*, *fund-*  
*on*, *wundon*; O. sing. *band*, *fand*, *wand*, pl. *bundenn*, *fundenn*,  
— is to be explained in the same way.†

We have not yet attended to the suffixes of inflection and  
derivation; but for these only a few words will be necessary.  
The inflectional endings are all short in the Ormulum: there  
is reason, indeed, to believe that such as were originally long

\* The digraph *ck*, in the Ormulum, is equivalent to *cc* or *kk*, and marks the  
vowel before it as short. At the end of a word, or before a consonant, *cc* is alone  
used: if a vowel follows in the same word, *ck* or *kk* takes its place.

† For several of these preterits the Scottish dialect has forms — such as *brak*,  
*cam*, *spak*, *fand*, etc. — which correspond to those here given from the Ormulum.

had become short during the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus the Ormulum has

- ess in the gen. sing.: as *flæshess kinde* (*flesh's kindred*, A. S. *flæsces gecynd*).
- ess in the plural: as *læchess* (*leeches*, A. S. *læcas*, earlier *læcās* or *læciās*).
- err in the compar. *forrtherr* (*further*, A. S. *furdhor*), from *forth* (*forth*, A. S. *fordh*): in the compar. of adjectives the O. has -*re* (A. S. -*ra*, -*re*), as *fūre* (*fouler*, A. S. *fūla*). In E., -*er* has become long by change of *r*.
- esst in the superl.: as *deresst* (*dearest*, A. S. *deórost*, *deórest*).
- esst in the 2d person of verbs: as *heresst* (*hearest*, A. S. *hýrest*).
- ethth in the 3d person of verbs: as *lokethth* (*looketh*, A. S. *lôcadh*).
- enn in the past part.: as *haldenn* (*holden*, A. S. *healden*).
- edd in the past part.: as *wundedd* (*wounded*, A. S. *wundod*).

The -*de* of the weak preterit is usually added directly to the stem, as *dredde* (*he dreaded*). The present participle terminates in -*ennde* (A. S. -*ende*), but is rare in the O., the only instances where it is a proper participle being *bærnennde* (*burning*), *dwallkennde* (*misleading*), *glowennde* (*glowing*), and *stinnkennde* (*stinking*). The suffix -*innng* is very frequent, but always forms a verbal substantive; while -*ung*, which in Anglo-Saxon is more used for this purpose, is in O. confined to the word *reowwsunng* (*rueling*, *repentance*) and two or three others. Suffixes of this kind, found both in O. and in E., are

- ell (A. S. -*el*): as *girrdell* (*girdle*).
- ene (A. S. -*en*): as *brasene* (*brazen*).
- ere (A. S. -*ere*): as *mineteress* (*minters*, *money-changers*); very rare in O.; another instance perhaps in *forrlezernesse* (*fornication*).
- innng (A. S. -*ing*, -*ung*): as *biginninng* (*beginning*), *laferrdinngess* (*lordings*).
- isshe (A. S. -*isc*): as *shepisshe* (*sheeplike*, *sheepish*).
- iȝ (A. S. -*ig*): as *modiȝ* (*moody*).
- linng (A. S. -*ling*): as *derrlinng* (*darling*).
- nesse (A. S. -*nes*): as *godnesse* (*goodness*), *wittness* (*witness*).
- stere (A. S. -*stre*): only in *huccsteress* (*huckster's*).

In final -*ene* and -*ere*, the first *e*, short in A. S., is lengthened by the open syllable: the English -*er* is of course long. Final -*iȝ* is long in consequence of the partial vocalization of the *g* (compare the effect of a weak *r*), while the corresponding suffix -*y* of the later language, discarding the semivowel, has returned to the short quantity of A. S. -*ig*. The same changes appear in the numerals *twenntiȝ*, *thrittiȝ*, *fowwertriȝ*, etc. (*twenty*, *thirty*, *forty*, etc., A. S. *twentig*, *thrittig*, *feówertig*, etc.). But in the suffix -*liȝ* (our -*ly*) the vowel was origin-

ally long, the words which contain it being compounds of the adj. *like* (O. *lic*, A. S. *gelic*). Suffixes of this kind (really words in composition) are the following, found both in the Ormulum and in English :

- dom (A. S. -*dōm*) : as *horedom* (*whoredom*).
- fald (A. S. -*feald*) : as *threfald* (*threefold*).
- fasst (A. S. -*fäst*) : as *stedefasst* (*steadfast*) ; in *shammfasst* (*shamefaced*) the form has been changed by mistaken popular etymology.
- full (A. S. -*ful*) : as *sinnfull* (*sinful*).
- had (A. S. -*hād*) : as *maz3denhād* (*maidenhood, maidenhead*).
- lac (A. S. -*lāc*) : only in *weddlac* (*wedlock*).
- læs (A. S. -*leās*) : as *childlæs* (*childless*) ; rarely -*less*, as *endeless* (*endless*).
- lic, -like or -li3 (A. S. -*lic*) : as *eorthlic*, *eorthlike*, *eorthli3* (*earthly*).
- mann (A. S. -*man*) : as *allderrmann* (*alderman*).
- shipe (A. S. -*scipe*) : as *wurrthshipe* and *wurrshipe* (*worship*).
- summ (A. S. -*sum*) : as *halsumm* (*wholesome*).
- warrd (A. S. -*weard*) : as *afterrwarrd* (*afterward*).

In *-fald* and *-shipe*, the Ormulum has lengthened an Anglo-Saxon short vowel, from the influence of *ld* in the first case, and of an open syllable in the second ; as to the last, the English agrees with the Anglo-Saxon. The short vowel of *-warrd* has been lengthened in English by the weak *r* ; while the long vowel has been shortened in *-dom*, *-had*, *-lac*, *-læs*, two of which end with mute sounds. In *-læs*, the change had commenced in the thirteenth century. The Ormulum has in many words a suffix *-le33c*—as seen in *godle33c*, = *godnesse* (*goodness*)—which corresponds to *-leik-r* (= A. S. *-lāc*), a frequent suffix in the Old Norse. Peculiar cases are *rihhtwis* (*righteous*, A. S. *rihtwis*), and *stallwurrthli3* (*stoutly*, cf. *stalwart*, A. S. *stālweordh*).

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It has seemed desirable to add here a list of all the words, not already noticed, which appear in the Ormulum with the same vowel quantity that they have in modern English. The cases noted in the foregoing lists as showing such an agreement consist of words in which the earlier quantity has been changed under euphonic tendencies which had commenced their course before the time of the Ormulum. But in nearly all the words which follow, the primitive quantity has remained unchanged from Anglo-Saxon times to the present day.



In this list, as in those before it, where the same root is found with different suffixes, only one form has been given, unless there were special reasons for adding others.\*

- O. *ær* (*ere*), A. S. *ær*: superl. *æresst* (*erst*) in *allræresst*, A. S. *ærest*.  
*ære* (*ear*, *auris*), A. S. *éære*.  
*æst* (*east*), A. S. *éast*.  
*æth* (*easy*), *unnæthe* (*with difficulty*), cf. O. E. *eath*, *uneath*, A. S. *éaðhe*.  
*aftierr* (*after*), *bafteinn* (*behind*, cf. *abast*), A. S. *æfter*, *bäftean*.  
*ah* (*I owe*), A. S. *âh*.  
*ahnenn* (*to obtain, conquer*, cf. *to own*), A. S. *âgnian* (*to possess, acquire*).  
*allfa* (*alpha*), Gr. ἀλφα.  
*alls* (*as*), from *allswa*, A. S. *ealswâ*.  
*amm* (*am*), A. S. *eom*.  
*aand* (*und*), rarely *and*, A. S. *and*.  
*anngrenn* (*to anger*), O. N. *ângr* (*vexation*), *ângra* (*to vex*), see note on p. 81.  
*anntecrist* (*antichrist*), Lat. *antichristus*.  
*appell* (*apple*), A. S. *äpl*, *äppel*.  
*ar* (*early*, Sc. *air*), see *ær*.  
*asse* (*ass*), A. S. *assa*.  
*asskess* (*ashes*), A. S. *asce*.  
*athess* (*oaths*), A. S. *âdh*.  
*att* (*at*), A. S. *ât*.  
*axe†* (*axe*), A. S. *âc*.  
*aʒhenn* (*own*), A. S. *âgen*; from *aʒhenn* (*to possess*, cf. *to owe*), A. S. *âgan*.  
*bacc*, *bacch* (*back*), A. S. *bâc*.  
*bæm* (*beam*), in *sunnebæm* (*sunbeam*), A. S. *beám* (*tree, column*).  
*bære* (*bier*), A. S. *bær*.  
*bæteinn* (*beaten*), A. S. *beáten*.  
*bannkess* (*banks*), A. S. *banc* (*mound*).  
*bapptisstess* (*baptist's*), Lat. *baptista*.  
*bathe* (*both*), A. S. *bá twâ*.  
*bathth* (*bath*), A. S. *bâdh*.

\* Monosyllables which end in vowels are not included in this list, nor in any of those already given, for the reason that the peculiar orthography of the Ormulum fails to indicate their quantity. There can be little doubt, however, that they were regularly long, those which were originally short — as *i*, also *icc* (*I*), *he* (*he*), *fra* (from, cf. *fro*), etc. — having been already lengthened. In modern English, all accented final vowels are long: if the articles *a* and *the* are short, it is because they have given up their separate accent, and become incorporated as proclitics with the words that follow them. In the Old Norse, too, a root-vowel is regularly long when it stands at the end of a word, so that short final vowels appear only in unaccented syllables of inflection or derivation.

† The writer of the Ormulum does not repeat the double consonant *x*. He writes *axe* (*axe*), *fox* (*fox*), *oxe* (*ox*), *sexe* (*six*), *waxenn* (*to wax*), though in all these the preceding vowel must have been short. He does, however, write *waxxenn* in at least one instance; and it is quite likely that in the preterit *wex* (A. S. *weóx*) the vowel was long.

- O. *bedd* (bed), A. S. *bed*.  
*belle* (bell), A. S. *belle*.  
*bennche* (bench), *bennkedd* (benched), A. S. *benc*.  
*bettre* (better), *bettst* (best), A. S. *betera*, *betst*.  
*biddenn* (to bid), A. S. *beóðan*; see p. 91.  
*abidenn* (to abide), *abad* (abode), A. S. *ábidan*, *á!ðd*.  
*biggenn* (to dwell), *unnbiggedd* (unbuilt on), cf. Sc. to *big* (to build), *biggit* (built), O. N. *byggja* (to build, dwell), A. S. *bájan*.  
*birrzenn* (to bury), A. S. *byrgan*.  
*bisscopp* (bishop), A. S. *bisceop*, Lat. *episcopus*; see p. 88.  
*bitenn* (to bite), A. S. *bítan*.  
*bitterr* (bitter), A. S. *biter*.  
*blætenn* (to bleat), A. S. *blætan*.  
*toblawenn* (bloated, cf. to blow), A. S. *bláwan* (to blow).  
*blettenn* (to bless), *blettsedd* (blessed), A. S. *bletsian*, *gebletsod*.  
*blisse* (bliss), A. S. *blis*.  
*blithe* (blithe), A. S. *blíðhe*.  
*blame* (bloom), O. S. *blómo*, O. N. *blóm*, A. S. *blówan* (to blow, bloom).  
*blunnt* (blunt), O. N. *blunda* (to wink, drowse, be dull).  
*bone* (boon), A. S. *bén*, O. N. *bón*.  
*bote* (amend, cf. boot), A. S. *bót*.  
*bothe* (booth), O. N. *búðh*.  
*bozhess* (boughs), A. S. *bóg*, *báh*.  
*brad* (broad), A. S. *bráð*.  
*brass* (brass), A. S. *bräs*.  
*brennd* (burned, cf. brand), A. S. *brenned*, *brand*.  
*breress* (briars), A. S. *brér*, *brær*.  
*brid* (bride), A. S. *brýð*.  
*bringenn* (to bring), A. S. *bringan*.  
*tobrisenn* (to bruise), A. S. *brýsan*, *tébrýsan*.  
*bucc* (goat, buck), A. S. *bucca*.  
*bure* (abode, cf. bower), A. S. *búr*.  
*burrh* (town, borough), A. S. *burh*, *burg*.  
*butt* (but), also *but*, A. S. *bútan*.  
*butteenn* (to but), Fr. *bouter*.  
*buzhenn* (to bow), A. S. *búgan*.  
*cann* (he can), A. S. *can*.  
*casstell* (castle), A. S. *castel*, Lat. *castellum*.  
*chaff* (chaff), A. S. *ceaf*.  
*chepingbothe* (market-booth), cf. E. *cheap*, A. S. *ceáp* (bargain, price).  
*chesenn* (to choose), *chæs* (chose), A. S. *ceósan*, *ceás*.  
*chestre* (city, town, cf. -chester in names of place), A. S. *ceaster*, Lat. *castrum*.  
*childre* (children), pl. of *child*, A. S. *cildru*, from *cild*.  
*toclæf* (he clave, clove), A. S. *clæf*, from *cleófan* (to cleave).  
*clathess* (clothes), pl. of *clath*, A. S. *cláðh*.  
*clene* (clean), A. S. *clæne*.  
*clippenn* (to clip), O. N. *klippa* (to shave off).  
*cludess* (hills, cf. cloud), A. S. *clúd* (rock, hill).  
*clutess* (clothes, cf. clout), A. S. *clút* (clout).

- O. *cnaewenn* (to know), *cneow*, *cnew* (knew), A. S. *crāwan*, *cneōw*.  
*cneleinn* (to kneel), A. S. *cneōwian*.  
*cnif* (knife), A. S. *cnif*.  
*craft* (craft, science), A. S. *crāft*.  
*cribbe* (crib), A. S. *crib*, *cryb*.  
*crisstene* (christian), *crisstnenn* (to christen), from *Crist* (Christ), A. S. *crīsten*,  
*cristnian*.  
*crummess* (crumbs), A. S. *crūme*.  
*crune* (crown), O. Fr. *corone*, Lat. *corōna*.  
*culfre* (culver, dove), A. S. *culfre*, *culufre*.  
*cunnenn* (to know, be able, cf. cunning), A. S. *cunnan*.  
*cuppress* (cups), A. S. *cupp*, *cuppa*.  
*cuth* (known, Sc. *couth*), *unncuth* (unknown, *uncouth*), A. S. *cúdh*, *uncúdh*.  
*cwellenn* (o quell, kill), A. S. *cwellan*.  
*cwen* (queen), A. S. *cwén*.  
*cwennkenn* (to quench), A. S. *ācwencan*.  
*cwicc* (living, quick), but with -e *cwike*, A. S. *cwic*.  
*dæl*, *dale*, *del* (part, deal), *dælenn* (to share, deal), A. S. *dæl*, *dælan*.  
*dæw* (dew), A. S. *deāw*.  
*dede* (deed), A. S. *dæd*.  
*delfenn* (to bury, cf. delve), A. S. *delfan* (to delve).  
*dellta* (delta), Gr. *δέλτα*.  
*demenn* (to judge, cf. to deem), A. S. *dēman*.  
*deop*, *dep* (deep), A. S. *deóp*.  
*deor*, *der* (animal, cf. deer), A. S. *deór*.  
*deore*, *dere* (dear), A. S. *deóre*.  
*deʒenn* (to die), O. N. *deyja*.  
*dinnt* (blow, cf. dint), A. S. *dynt*.  
*dippenn* (to dip), A. S. *dyppan*.  
*dom* (doom, judgment), A. S. *dóm*.  
*don* (to do), A. S. *dón*.  
*dræm* (sound, connected with dream), A. S. *dreám* (sound).  
*dreoriʒ*, *dreriʒ* (sad, dreary), A. S. *dreórig*.  
*dreʒhenn* (to suffer, Sc. to dree), A. S. *dreógan*.  
*drifenn* (to drive), *draf* (drove), A. S. *drifan*, *dráf*.  
*drinnkenn* (to drink), *dranne*, *drunnkenn*, A. S. *drincan*, *dranc*, *druncen*.  
*dun* (subs., down, hill), *dun* (adv., down), A. S. *dún*, *dúne*.  
*dust* (dust), A. S. *dust*.  
*dwellenn* (to dwell, delay), A. S. *dwellan* (to hinder, delay).  
*ec* (also, eke), A. S. *ēc*, *éc*.  
*efenn* (evening, even), A. S. *æfen*.  
*efftsone*, *efftsoness* (eftsoons), A. S. *eft* and *sóna*.  
*egge* (edge), *eggenn* (to egg on), A. S. *eeg*, *ecgan*, O. N. *egg*, *eggja*.  
*ekenn* (to eke, increase), A. S. *écan*.  
*eldre* (elder), A. S. *yldra*, from *eald* (old).  
*elless* (else), A. S. *elles*.  
*eʒhe* (eye), pl. *ehne*, *eʒhne* (eyne, Sc. *een*), A. S. *ēdge*, *ēdgan*.  
*fierenn* (to make one fear), *fieredd* (afear'd, afraid), A. S. *āfæran*, *āfæred*.  
*fæwe* (few), A. S. *fēd*, = *fēdwe*.

- O. *fanngenn* = *fon* (to take, cf. *fang*), A. S. *fōn*, part. *fungen*.  
*fasst* (*fast*, firm), *fasste* (*fast*, quickly), A. S. *fäst*.  
*fasste* (*fast*, jejunium), A. S. *fāsten*.  
*fatt* (*fat*, vat), in *reclēfatt* (incense-vessel, censer), A. S. *fāt*.  
*feccenn* (to fetch), A. S. *feccan*.  
*fedenn* (to feed), A. S. *fēdan*.  
*fell* (skin, fell), A. S. *fēl*, *fēll*.  
*fell* (he fell), A. S. *feól*, from *feallan* (to fall). Vowel shortened in O. and E.  
*fend* (enemy, fiend), A. S. *fēond*.  
*feorthe*, *ferthe* (*fourth*), A. S. *feórdha*.  
*fesstenn* (to fix, fasten), A. S. *fästnian*.  
*fet* (*feet*), from *fōt* (*foot*), A. S. *fēt*, from *fōt*.  
*fezenn* (to join, cf. to *fast*), A. S. *fēgan*.  
*fif* (*five*), A. S. *fīf*.  
*filenn* (to file, defile), A. S. *fýlan*, *dfýlan*, from *fúl* (*foul*).  
*fillenn* (to fill), A. S. *fyllan*, from *ful* (*full*).  
*fir* (*fire*), A. S. *fīr*.  
*fisskess* (*fishes*), A. S. *fisc*, pl. *fiscas*.  
*flærd* (mockery, cf. *flee*, subs.), O. N. *flærdh* (deceit).  
*fleon*, *flen* (to flee), A. S. *fleón*.  
*fletenn* (to flow, float, cf. to fleet), A. S. *fleótan*.  
*flezenn* (to fly), *flæh* (*flew*), A. S. *fleógan*, *fleáh*.  
*flittenn* (to remove, cf. to flit), O. N. *fletta* (to strip).  
*flocc* (*flock*), A. S. *floc*.  
*flor* (*floor*), A. S. *flór*.  
*flowenn* (to flow), A. S. *flówan*.  
*fode* (*food*), A. S. *fōða*.  
*föllzenn* (to follow), A. S. *folgian*.  
*fox* (*fox*), A. S. *fōx*.  
*frawarrd* (away from, cf. *froward*), A. S. *framweard*.  
*fremnde* (strange, Sc. *frem*), A. S. *fremde*, from prep. *fram* (*from*).  
*fressh* (*active*, *fresh*), A. S. *fērsce*, O. Fr. *fres*, fem. *fresche*.  
*fresst* (period of time, Sc. *frest*, cf. to *frist*), A. S. *fyrst*.  
*frosst* (*frost*), A. S. *forst*.  
*ful* (*foul*), A. S. *fúl*.  
*full* (*full*), A. S. *ful*, *full*.  
*fulluht* (baptism), A. S. *fulluht*, from *fulvian*, *fullian*, whence probably E. to *full* (cloth).  
*gaddrenn* (to gather), *togeddre* (*together*), A. S. *gad(o)rian*, *tógäd(e)re*.  
*gan* (to go, gone), A. S. *gān* (to go).  
*ganngenn* (to go, Sc. to *gang*), A. S. *gangan*.  
*gast* (*spirit*, *ghost*), A. S. *gāst*.  
*gat* (*goat*), A. S. *gāt*.  
*gatt* (he got), in *bigatt* (obtained), A. S. *begeat*, from *begitan* (to get).  
*gazhenn* (*gain*), O. N. *gagn* (advantage).  
*gessthus* (*guest-house*), A. S. *gäst*.  
*gilt* (*guilt*), A. S. *gylt*.  
*biginnenn*, *-gann*, *-gunnenn* (*begin*, *-gan*, *-gun*), A. S. *on-ginnan*, *-gan*, *-gunnen*.  
*gladd* (*glad*), but with *-e glade*, A. S. *gläd*.

- O. *gledess* (*gleeds*, glowing coals), A. S. *gléd*.  
*glowennde* (*glowing*), A. S. *glówan* (to glow).  
*godd* (*god*), but *goddess* (*god's*), A. S. *god*.  
*goddspell* (*gospel*), A. S. *godspel*, see p. 83.  
*græt* (*great*), A. S. *greát*.  
*grediȝ* (*greedy*), A. S. *grædig*.  
*grene* (*green*), A. S. *gréne*.  
*gresshoppe* (*grasshopper*), A. S. *gärshoppa*.  
*gretenn* (to greet), A. S. *grétan*.  
*grim* (*grim*, *stern*), A. S. *grim*.  
*gripenn* (to gripe), in *bigripenn* (to rebuke), A. S. *grípan* (to gripe).  
*grissliȝ* (*hidcous*, *grisly*), A. S. *gryslíc*.  
*habbenn* (to have), also *hæfenn*, *haffde* (he had), A. S. *habban*, *hæfde*.  
*hæle* (to heal), A. S. *hælan*.  
*hæp* (*heap*), A. S. *heáp*.  
*hær* (*hair*), A. S. *hær*, *hér*.  
*hæte* (*heat*), A. S. *hæto*.  
*hæthenn* (*heathen*), A. S. *hæðhen*.  
*hæwenn* (to hew), A. S. *heáwan*.  
*hal* (*whole*), A. S. *hál*.  
*haliȝ* (*holy*), A. S. *hálíg*.  
*ham* (*home*), A. S. *hám*.  
*hannd* (*hind*), also *hand*, A. S. *hand*.  
*heh* (*high*), A. S. *heáh*.  
*helle* (*hell*), A. S. *hel*, *helle*.  
*hellfe* (*handle*, *helve*), A. S. *helf*, *hielfu*.  
*hellpenn* (to help), A. S. *helpan*.  
*henngde* (he hanged), A. S. *hangian*, *hongian* (to hang).  
*heoffne*, *heffne* (*heaven*), A. S. *heofan*.  
*her*, *here* (*here*), A. S. *hér*.  
*herenn* (to hear), A. S. *hýran*.  
*hew* (*appearance*, cf. *hue*), A. S. *hiw* (*hiw*?).  
*hidenn* (to hide), A. S. *hýdan*.  
*hill* (*hill*), A. S. *hyll*.  
*him* (*him*), A. S. *him*.  
*hiss* (*his*), A. S. *his*.  
*hof* (*hove*, *heaved*), from *hefenn*, A. S. *hóf*, from *hebban*.  
*bihofeth* (*behoveth*), A. S. *behófadh*.  
*horedom* (*whoredom*), from A. S. *hóre* (*whore*).  
*huccsteress* (*huckster's*), Dan. *höker*, M. H. Germ. *hocke*, *hucker*.  
*hunngerr* (*hunger*), A. S. *hungor*.  
*hundredred* (*hundred*), A. S. *hundred*.  
*hunnte* (*hunter*), A. S. *hunta*.  
*hus* (*house*), A. S. *hús*.  
*husell* (*eucharist*, *housel*), A. S. *húsel*.  
*icchenn* (to move oneself, cf. to hitch?),  
*idell* (*idle*), A. S. *ídel*.  
*iff* = *ȝiff* (*if*), A. S. *gíf*.  
*ille* (*evil*, *ill*), A. S. *yfel*, O. N. *ill-r*.

- O. *illke* (same, cf. Sc. 'of that ilk'), A. S. *ilca*.  
*inn* (in), A. S. *in*.  
*inn, inne* (inn, lodging), A. S. *in, inne*.  
*inoh* (enow, enough), A. S. *genóg, genóh*.  
*irenn* (iron), A. S. *íren*.  
*iss* (is), A. S. *is*.  
*itt* (it), A. S. *hit*.  
*kannðellmesse* (Candlemas), A. S. *candel-mässe*, Lat. *candela*.  
*kanunnkess* (of canonic person, monk's), Lat. *canonicus*.  
*kaserr* (Caesar, emperor), A. S. *cásere*.  
*kelenn* (to make cool), A. S. *célan* (to make cool), *cólian* (to grow cool).  
*kemnp* (Sc. *kemp*, champion), A. S. *cempa*.  
*kene* (keen, bold), A. S. *céne*.  
*kepenn* (to keep), A. S. *cépan, cýpan*.  
*kinn* (kin, kind), A. S. *cyn*.  
*kinndlenn* (to kindle), O. N. *kynda*.  
*lacchenn* (to catch, cf. *latch*), A. S. *lúccan*.  
*lade* (leading, way, cf. *lode*), A. S. *lād*.  
*læche* (leech), A. S. *læce*.  
*læfè* (belief), A. S. *geledáfa*.  
*læfess* (leaves), A. S. *leáf*.  
*læn* (reward, cf. *loan*), A. S. *leán*.  
*lepenn* (to leap), A. S. *hleápan*.  
*læste* (least), irreg. lengthened, A. S. *læsest, læst*, superl. of *lytel*.  
*lewedd* (lay, cf. *lewd*), A. S. *læwed*.  
*laf* (loaf), A. S. *hláf*.  
*laferrd* (lord), A. S. *hláford*.  
*lah* (low), superl. *lahhesst*, O. N. *låg-r*.  
*lahhzenn* (to laugh), also *lahzhenn*, A. S. *hlehhan*.  
*lammbre* (lambs), pl. of *lamb*, A. S. *lambru*, from *lamb*.  
*lanng* (adv. *long*), from adj. *lang*, A. S. *lange*, from *lung*.  
*bilappedd* (lapped, enclosed), A. S. *lappa* (*lap*, border).  
*lare* (lore), A. S. *lār*.  
*lasse* (less), A. S. *lāssa*, compar. of *lytel*.  
*lath* (loathsome, hateful), A. S. *lād̥h*.  
*latre* (latter), *lattst* (last), from *late*, A. S. *lātra, lātst*, from *lāt*.  
*lawe* (heap, hill, cf. Houns-low, Brad-law), A. S. *hlæw*.  
*ledenn* (to lead), A. S. *lædan*.  
*lefe* (leave, permission), A. S. *leáf*.  
*lefenn* (to believe), A. S. *gelýfan*.  
*bilefenn* (to remain), *lefethth* (remaineth, cf. to leave), A. S. *læfin* (to leave).  
*lefftenn* (to lift), from A. S. *lyft* (air).  
*lenenn* (to lend, loan), A. S. *lenan*.  
*lenntenn* (Lent, spring-time), A. S. *lencten* (spring).  
*leo, le*, gen. *leoness, leness*, (lion, lion's), A. S. *leó* or *león*, Lat. *leo*.  
*leof, lef* (dear, cf. *lief*), A. S. *leóf*.  
*leosenn, lesenn* (to loose), A. S. *lýsan*.  
*forlesenn* (to lose), A. S. *forleósan*.  
*lettenn* (to let, hinder), A. S. *lettan*.

- O. *lezhen* (to lie, mentiri), A. S. *l ógan*.  
*lhude* (loudly), A. S. *hlúde*, from *hlúd* (loud).  
*libbenn* (to live), A. S. *libban*.  
*lic* (like), A. S. *gelíc*.  
*lic*, *lich* (body, corpse, cf. *lyke*-wake), A. S. *lic*.  
*lif* (*life*), *bilife* (quickly, *belive*), A. S. *líf*.  
*lift* (air, cf. Sc. *lift*), A. S. *lyft*.  
*likenn* (to like, please), A. S. *lician* (to please).  
*lim* (lime), A. S. *lím*.  
*lin* (to lie, jacere), A. S. *licgan*, but *líd*h (for *ligdh*).  
*lisste* (it pleased, cf. to list), A. S. *lyste*, from *lystan*.  
*lisstenn* (to list, listen), A. S. *hlystan*.  
*little*, def. and pl. of *litell* (little), A. S. *lytel*.  
*lithe* (gentle, cf. *lithe*), A. S. *lídhe*.  
*lofft*, in *o lofft* (*aloft*), A. S. *on lyfte* (in air, on high), O. N. *á lopti*.  
*lott* (lot), A. S. *hlot*.  
*lozhe* (flame, Sc. low), A. S. *lég*, O. N. *logi*.  
*luffsumm* (lovesome, pleasant), from *lufe* (love), A. S. *lufsum*, from *lufe*.  
*lust* (lust), A. S. *lust*.  
*lutenn* (to bow, Sc. lout), A. S. *lútan*.  
*macche* (mate, consort, cf. *match*), A. S. *gemäcca*: and in same sense *make* (make, obs.), A. S. *gemaca*.  
*mæless* (meals), A. S. *mæl*.  
*mænelike* (common, cf. *mean*), A. S. *gemæne*.  
*mann* (man), *menn* (men), A. S. *man*, *men*.  
*mare*, *mar* (more), *mæst*, *mast* (most), A. S. *māra*, *mæst*.  
*mede* (meed, reward), A. S. *méd*.  
*melltenn* (to melt), A. S. *meltan*.  
*menenn* (to moan), A. S. *mænan*.  
*menenn* (to mean), A. S. *mænan*.  
*meoc*, *mec* (meek), O. N. *miuk-r* (lenis).  
*messe* (mass), A. S. *mässe*, Lat. *missa*.  
*miccle*, pl. of *mikell* (mickle, much), A. S. *micel*.  
*middell* (middle), A. S. *middel*.  
*mile* (mile), A. S. *mīl*.  
*milc* (milk), A. S. *mīlc*, *meolc*.  
*mīn*, *mī* (mine, my), A. S. *mīn*.  
*minnstre* (minster), A. S. *mynster*, Lat. *monasterium*.  
*misstenn* (they missed), A. S. *missan* (to miss).  
*mod* (mood), A. S. *mód*.  
*mone* (moon), A. S. *mōna*.  
*muth* (mouth), A. S. *mūdh*.  
*narrwe*, def. and pl. of *naru* (narrow), A. S. *nearu*.  
*ned* (need), A. S. *nýd*, *néd*.  
*neddre* (adder, for *nadder*), A. S. *nādre*.  
*needle* (needle), A. S. *nædl*.  
*neh* (nigh), A. S. *nedh*, *nēh*.  
*neow*, *new* (new), A. S. *nīwe*, *neowe*, with short vowel.  
*ner* (nearly), O. N. *nær*; also *ner* (nearer), A. S. *neár*, comp. of *neáh*.  
*nett* (net), A. S. *net*.

- O. *niththrenn* (to lower, cf. *nether*), A. S. *nidherian*, from *nidher*.  
*off* (*of*), A. S. *of*.  
*offrenn* (to offer, sacrifice), A. S. *offrian*, Lat. *offerre*.  
*offte* (*oft*), A. S. *oft*.  
*ollfennness* (gen., camel's), A. S. *olfend* (camel), from Gr. *ἐλέφας* (*elephant*).  
*onn* (*on*), A. S. *on*.  
*oxe* (*ox*), A. S. *oxa*.  
*pappe* (nipple, *pap*), Lat. *papilla*.  
*paradis* (*paradise*), Lat. *paradisus*.  
*pin* (*pain*, Sc. *pine*), *pinenn* (to pain, cf. to pine), A. S. *pīn*, *pīnian*.  
*pitt* (*pit*), in *hellepitt* (*hell-pit*), A. S. *pyt* (*puteus*, fovea).  
*ploh* (*plough*), Dutch *ploeg*, O. N. *plóg-r*.  
*posstell* (*apostle*), A. S. *apostol*, Lat. *apostolus*.  
*preost*, *prest* (*priest*), A. S. *preóst*, Lat. *presbyter*.  
*racchess* (scenting-hounds, cf. *rach*), A. S. *ræcc*.  
*ræd* (*counsel*, Sc. *rede*), *rædenn* (to counsel, Sc. *rede*), A. S. *ræd*, *rædan*.  
*ræfenn* (to rob, reave, bereave), A. S. *rædfian*.  
*ramm* (*ram*), A. S. *ram*.  
*rann* (*ran*), A. S. *ran*, from *rinnan* (to run).  
*rannc* (*rank*, luxuriant), A. S. *ranc*.  
*rap* (*rope*), A. S. *ráp*.  
*reccnenn* (to reckon), A. S. *recenian*.  
*recess* (incense, cf. *reek*), also *reccless*, A. S. *récel's*, from *récan*, *reócan* (to reek).  
*redenn* (to read), A. S. *rêdan*.  
*reddenn* (to rid), A. S. *hreddan*.  
*rekkenn*, *reckenn* (to reck), *reckelæ's* (*reckless*), A. S. *récan*, *réceleás*. Vowel shortened in O. and E.  
*reowenn* (to rue, repent), *birewenn*, A. S. *hreówan*.  
*resste* (*rest*), A. S. *rest*, *räst*.  
*rhof*, *rof* (*roof*), A. S. *hróf*.  
*ridenn* (to ride), A. S. *rîdan*.  
*rime* (number, metre, cf. *rhyme*), A. S. *rîm* (number).  
*rippenn* (to tear, spoil, cf. to rip), A. S. *ryppan* (or *rýpan*?).  
*risenn* (to rise), *ras* (*rose*), A. S. *risan*, *rás*.  
*rode* (*rood*, cross), A. S. *rôd*.  
*rote* (*root*), O. N. *rót*, A. S. *wrótan* (to root).  
*ruhh* (*rough*), A. S. *hredh*, *hreów*: shortened in O. and E., see p. 74.  
*rum* (*room*), A. S. *rûm*.  
*run* (secret converse, cf. *roun* and *rune*), A. S. *rûn*.  
*sacclæs* (guiltless, cf. *sackless*), A. S. *sacledæs*.  
*sæte* (*seat*), A. S. *sæt* (*insidia*).  
*sære* (*sorely*), A. S. *sære*, from *sár* (*sore*).  
*sawenn* (to sow), A. S. *sáwan*.  
*sawle* (*soul*), A. S. *sáwel*, *sáwl*.  
*scrennkenn* (to supplant, make shrink), A. S. *áscrencan*, from *scrincan* (to shrink).  
*scribe* (*scribe*), Lat. *scriba*.  
*sed* (*seed*), A. S. *sæd*.  
*sekenn* (to seek), A. S. *sêcan*.



- O. *sellenn* (to sell), A. S. *sellan*, *syllan* (to give).  
*self* (self), A. S. *self*, *sylf*.  
*semenn* (to seem), A. S. *séman* (to make agreeable).  
*sennde* (he sent), from *sendenn*, A. S. *sende*, from *sendan*.  
*bisennkenn* (to sink, trans.), A. S. *sencan*, from *sincan*.  
*seoffne*, *seffne*, also *se(o)fenn* (seven), A. S. *seofon*.  
*seon*, *sen* (to see), A. S. *seón*.  
*serrzhe* (sorrow), A. S. *sorg*.  
*settenn* (to set), A. S. *settan*.  
*settledd* (seated, settled), A. S. *setlan* (to settle).  
*sexe* (six), *sextene* (sixteen), *sextiz* (sixty), A. S. *six*, *sixtýne*, *sixtig*.  
*shæfess* (sheaves), A. S. *sceáf*.  
*shæthe* (sheath), A. S. *sceádh*, *sceádh*.  
*shæwenn* (to show), A. S. *sceáwian* (to view).  
*shall* (shall), *sholde* (should), A. S. *sceal*, *sceolde*.  
*shannkess* (legs, shanks), A. S. *scanc*, *scanca*.  
*shene* (sheen, adj.), A. S. *scýne*, *scène*.  
*shep* (sheep), A. S. *sceáp*, *scép*.  
*shifftedenn* (they divided, cf. to shift), A. S. *sciftan* (to divide).  
*shinenn* (to shine), *shan* (shone), A. S. *scīnan*, *scān*.  
*shir* (sheer, pure), A. S. *scīr*.  
*shotuwang* (shoe-latchet), A. S. *sceó*, *scó* (shoe).  
*shrifenn* (to thrive), *shriftē* (shrift), A. S. *scriġfan*, *scrift*.  
*shrud* (clothing, cf. shroud), A. S. *scrúd*.  
*sibb* (kin, Sc. *sib*), A. S. *sib*.  
*sikenn* (to sigh), A. S. *scīcan*.  
*sillferr* (silver), A. S. *seolför*, *silfor*.  
*sinne* (sin), A. S. *syn*.  
*sinnkenn* (to sink), *sunnkenn* (sunken), A. S. *sincan*, *suncen*.  
*siththenn* (sithence, since), A. S. *sīdhðhan* (*sīdhðhan*?).  
*sittenn* (to sit), *satt* (sat), A. S. *sittan*, *sāt*.  
*skill* (skill), O. N. *skil* (distinction, distinct notion).  
*skinn* (skin), A. S. *scinn*, O. N. *skinn*.  
*slæp* (sleep), *slæpenn* (to sleep), A. S. *slæp*, *slæpan*.  
*slan* (to slay), *slōh* (slew), A. S. *slēan*, *slōh*.  
*slaw* (slow), A. S. *slāw*.  
*sleh* (cunning, sly), O. N. *slæg-r*.  
*slōth* (track, cf. sleuth-hound), O. N. *slóðh*.  
*smacc* (savor, smack), A. S. *smāc*.  
*smec* (smoke), A. S. *smēc*, from *smēócan*.  
*smethe* (smooth), A. S. *smēdhe*.  
*smūtenn* (to smite), A. S. *smītan*.  
*sone* (soon), A. S. *sōna*.  
*soth* (sooth), A. S. *sóðh*.  
*spæche* (speech), A. S. *spræc*, *spæc*.  
*spēd* (speed), A. S. *spēd*.  
*spell* (utterance, cf. spell), *speldrenn* (to spell), A. S. *spel*, *spellian*.  
*stæp* (steep), A. S. *steáp*.  
*staff* (letter, cf. staff), A. S. *stäf*.

- O. *stallwurrthliȝ* (stoutly, cf. *stålwart*), A. S. *stālweordh*.  
*stan* (stone), A. S. *stán*.  
*stannðenn* (to stand), A. S. *standan*.  
*steorenn, sterenn* (to direct, *steer*), A. S. *steóran*.  
*stikkess* (sticks), A. S. *stycce, sticce* (piece).  
*stille, still* (still, quiet), A. S. *stille*.  
*stinnch* (stench), A. S. *stinc*.  
*stinnkenn, stannc, stunnkenn*, (to stink, stank, stunk,) A. S. *stincan, stanc, stuncen*.  
*stinntenn* (to cease, cf. to stint), A. S. *stintan* (to blunt).  
*stræm* (stream), in *waterstræm*, A. S. *streðm*.  
*stræte* (street), A. S. *stræt*, Lat. *strata* (via).  
*strenncðe* (strength), from *strang* (strong), A. S. *strengdhu*, from *strang*.  
*streon, stren* (race, cf. strain), *stre(o)nenn* (to beget), A. S. *streónan* (procreate).  
*stunnt* (stupid, cf. stunt), A. S. *stunt* (blunt, stupid), from *stintan*.  
*suhhȝhenn* (to sigh, cf. *sough*), origin uncertain.  
*summ* (some), A. S. *sum*.  
*sunne* (sun), rarely *sūne*, A. S. *sunne*.  
*sur* (sour), A. S. *súr*.  
*susstress* (sisters), A. S. *sweostor, swustor*.  
*suth* (south), A. S. *súðh*.  
*swelltenn* (to die, cf. to swelt, swelter), A. S. *swedtan*.  
*swet* (sweet), A. S. *swéte*.  
*swift* (swift), A. S. *swift*.  
*swillc* (such), A. S. *swylc, swile*.  
*swin* (swine), A. S. *swín*.  
*swinnc* (labor, O. E. *swink*), A. S. *swinc*.  
*swollȝhenn* (to swallow), A. S. *swelgan*.  
*tæchenn* (to teach), A. S. *tæcan*.  
*tæmenn* (to generate, to teem), A. S. *tȝman, tēman*, from *teðm* (progeny).  
*tæress* (tears), A. S. *teár*.  
*takenn* (token), *tacnenn* (to betoken), A. S. *tácen, tácnian*.  
*tell nn* (to tell), A. S. *tellan*.  
*temmple* (temple), A. S. *tempel*, Lat. *templum*.  
*temmpredd* (tempered), A. S. *temprian* (temperare).  
*tende* (tenth, cf. -teenth in *thirteenth*, etc.), A. S. *teóðha*, O. N. *tūndi*, Frisic  
*tíanda* : cf. also Sc. *teinds* (tithes).  
*tene* (ten, cf. -teen in *thirteen*, etc.), A. S. *tȝn, tén*.  
*tene* (injury, vexation, O. E. *teen*), A. S. *teón, teóne*.  
*thær* (there), A. S. *thær*.  
*thann* (than), A. S. *thonne*.  
*thanne, thann* (then, when), A. S. *thonne, thānne*.  
*thannkenn* (to thank), A. S. *thancian*.  
*thatt* (that, conj.), A. S. *thāt*.  
*thennkenn* (to think), A. S. *thencan, thencean*.  
*theos, thes* (thighs), A. S. *theóh, theó*.  
*thin, thi* (thine, thy), A. S. *tlân*.  
*thinketh* (seems, cf. *methinks*), A. S. *thync(e)an, thinc(e)an*.  
*thiss* (this), A. S. *this*.  
*thræpenn* (to chide, Sc. *threap*), A. S. *thredáþian*.

- O. *threfald* (threefold), A. S. *thriƿeald*.  
*threnngdenn* (they thronged), A. S. *threngan*, from *thringan*.  
*thresshenn* (to thresh), A. S. *therscan*.  
*thrifenn* (to thrive), *thraf* (throve), O. N. *thrifask*, *threifsk*.  
*thusennde* (thousand), A. S. *ti.úsund*.  
*thuss* (thus), A. S. *thus*.  
*tid* (time, cf. *tide*, *even-tide*), A. S. *tí l*.  
*till* (till), O. N. *til*.  
*time* (time), A. S. *tíma*.  
*timmbrenn* (to build, cf. *timber*), A. S. *timbran*, from *timber*.  
*tithennde* (tidings), from A. S. *tíðian* (to betide, befall).  
*towarrd* (toward), A. S. *to.ward*.  
*tradd* (he trod), from *tredenn* (to tread), A. S. *trā l*, from *tredan*.  
*trapp* (trap), A. S. *treppe*.  
*tun* (town), A. S. *tūn*.  
*twafald* (twofold), from *twa* (two), A. S. *twá*.  
*twelf* (twelve), A. S. *twelf*.  
*bitwenenn* (between), A. S. *betwe.ēnan*.  
*twenntiz* (twenty), A. S. *twentig*.  
*twinne* (twin), A. S. *getwinne*.  
*unn-* (un-, negative prefix), A. S. *un-*.  
*unn derr* (under), A. S. *under*.  
*uppe*, *uppe* (up), A. S. *up*; O. *upponn* (upon), A. S. *uppan*.  
*ure* (our), A. S. *ūre*.  
*uss* (us), A. S. *ūs*; shortened in O. and E.  
*ut*, *ute* (out), A. S. *ūt*, *üte*; O. *abutenn* (about), A. S. *bútan*.  
*utterlike* (outwardly, cf. *utterly*), A. S. *útor*, *uttor* (outer, utter).  
*wac* (weak), A. S. *wác*.  
*wæde* (clothing, cf. *weed*), A. S. *wæd*, *wæde*.  
*wannt* (wanting), O. N. *van-t*, neut. of *van-r*, A. S. *wana* (defect): hence O. *wanntethth* (wanteth).  
*wass* (was), *wærenn* (were), A. S. *wäs*, *wæron*.  
*wasshenn* (to wash), A. S. *wascan*.  
*wawenn* (woes), pl. of *wa*, A. S. *wāwan*, pl. of *wāwe*, from *wā* (adv. and interj. *wo*).  
*waxenn* (to wax, grow), also *waxxenn*, A. S. *weaxan*.  
*wecche* (watching), A. S. *wūcce*.  
*weddenn* (to wed), A. S. *weddian*.  
*well* (adv., well), also *wel* (Sc. *weel*), A. S. *wel* (bene).  
*welle*, dat. of *wel* (a well), A. S. *well* and *wella* (fons).  
*wennenn* (to ween, think), A. S. *wēnan*.  
*wennchell* (child, cf. *wench*), A. S. *wincel* (proles), *wencle* (ancilla).  
*wennde* (he went), from *wendenn* (to go, *wend*), A. S. *wende*, from *wendan*.  
*wepenn* (to weep), A. S. *wēpan*.  
*wesst* (west), A. S. *west*.  
*whær* (where), A. S. *hwær*.  
*whæte* (wheat), A. S. *hwæte*.  
*whanne*, *whann* (when), rarely *whane*, A. S. *hwonne*, *hwānne*.  
*whatt* (what), A. S. *hwāt*.  
*whellp* (whelp), A. S. *hwelp*.

- O. *weol*, *whel* (*wheel*), A. S. *hwēol*.  
*wheththr* (*whether*), A. S. *hwæðher*.  
*whil* (*while*), *whilumm* (*whilom*), A. S. *hwīl*, dat. pl. *hwīlum*.  
*whillc* (*which*, Sc. *whilk*), A. S. *hwylc*.  
*wicche craftless* (*witchcrafts*), A. S. *wicce* (*witch*).  
*wicke*, *wikke* (*wicked*), probably connected with A. S. *wiccian* (*to bewitch*).  
*wid* (*wide*), A. S. *wīd*.  
*widdwe* (*widow*), also *widewe*, A. S. *widwe*, *wydewe*.  
*wif* (*woman*, *wife*), A. S. *wīf*.  
*wiless* (*wiles*), A. S. *wīl*.  
*wille* (*will*, subst.), A. S. *willa*.  
*wilt* (*thou wilt*), *wolde* (*would*), from *wilenn*, A. S. *wilt*, *wolde*, from *willan*.  
*win* (*wine*), A. S. *wīn*.  
*winndwenn* (*to winnow*), A. S. *wīndwīan*.  
*winnenn* (*to toil*, *win*), *wann* (*he won*), *wunnenn* (*won*), A. S. *winnan*, *wan*, *wunnen*.  
*winnterr* (*winter*), A. S. *wīnter*.  
*wis* (*wise*, *prudent*), A. S. *wīs*.  
*wise* (*wise*, *manner*), A. S. *wīse*.  
*wiss* (certainly, cf. *I wis*, O. E. *ywiss*), A. S. *gewis*.  
*wisste* (*he wist*, *knew*), from *witenn* (*to wit*, O. E. *to weet*), A. S. *wiste*, from *witan*.  
*withth* (*with*, prep.), A. S. *wīðh* (*against*, *towards*).  
*withthess* (*withes*), A. S. *wīðhig* (*willow*), O. N. *wīðhi-r*; vowel shortened in O. and E.  
*witt* (*knowledge*, *wit*), A. S. *wit*; also O. *witt* (*know thou*), A. S. *wit*.  
*witness* (*witness*), A. S. *witnes* (*witnes* ?).  
*wokenn* (*they woke*, *watched*), from *wakenn*, A. S. *wócon*, from *wacan*.  
*wrath* (*wrōth*, adj.), A. S. *wrādh*: for *wraththe* (*wrāth*), see p. 83.  
*wrecche* (*wretch*), A. S. *w ācca*, *wrecca*.  
*wrezenn*, *wrezhenn* (*to accuse*, *bewray*), A. S. *wrēgan*.  
*writenn* (*to write*), *wrat* (*wrote*), A. S. *writan*, *wrāt*.  
*writt* (*writ*), A. S. *writ*.  
*wulle* (*wool*), A. S. *wull*.  
*wunnderr* (*wonder*), A. S. *wundor*.  
*zellp* (*boast*, cf. *yelp*), A. S. *gīlp*, *gelp*.  
*zer* (*year*), A. S. *g ā*.  
*zett* (*gets*), from *zetenn*, A. S. *git*, from *gitan*.  
*ziff* (*give*), impv. of *zifenn*, A. S. *gif*, from *gifan*.  
*ziff* (*if*), also *iff*, A. S. *gif*.  
*zol* (*Yule*, *Christmas*), A. S. *geól*.  
*zonnd* (*yonder*), *bizonndenn* (*beyond*), A. S. *geond*.  
*zunngre* (*younger*), from *zung*, rarely *zunng*, A. S. *gyngra*, from *geong*.  
*zure* (*your*), A. S. *ēower*.  
*zuw* (*you*), A. S. *ēow*.